Critical Readings on the Manchus in Modern China (1616–2012)

Volume Three

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EASTERN BARBARIAN CONSCIOUSNESS IN *RESEARCH ON MANCHU ORIGINS*

Song Jhune Hyueck*

The notion that the progenitor of the Jurchen Jin dynasty was a Korean and that Korea was the ancestral land of the Manchu was widespread in East Asia in the twelfth century and continued for hundreds of years until the compilation of Research on Manchu Origins in the eighteenth century. Related records can be found in Chinese, Jurchen, and Korean records of the time such as *Songmojiwen* and *Goryeosa*. *Dongyi* (東夷) refers to the Sinocentric world view where the Chinese themselves occupy the center of the universe, while the people on its four fringes were considered barbarians. *Dongyi* (東夷) here refers to eastern barbarians, which includes Koreans, Japanese, and the Manchu. In this paper, *Dongyi* consciousness refers to the Qing elite's view of the ancient Korean kingdoms of Baekje and Silla. It appears that Hambo (函普), a man from Silla, migrated to Jurchen, married a Jurchen woman, and settled there. Starting from the time of his fourth generation descendant Seok Ro, his tribe began to gain power, and his seventh generation descendant Aguda founded the Jin dynasty. A fact that shows the Manchu's affinity toward Koreans is that kingdoms normally regarded as being Korean such as Buyeo, Baekje, and Silla are included in a book on Manchu origins, *Research on Manchu Origins*. The compiler's motive in including Baekje and Silla seems to have been to emphasize the advanced civilizations of Baekje and Silla as their ancestors and thereby placing themselves on an equal footing with the Han.

Research on Manchu Origins (hereafter, *Research*) was published in the Qing dynasty during the reign of Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1795) and was an official history of the dynasty. The book makes clear the fact that the Manchu ancestors were descended from the kingdoms of Baekje and Silla. In this paper, I will focus on the passage "the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was Korean" (Kim 1959:87–90) and show that until the eighteenth century when *Research* was published, the Manchu thought of Koreans as being their direct ancestors.

Related passages in *Research* include: (1) The progenitor of the Jin dynasty was named Hambo. He came from Goryeo (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 7,

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p. 179). (2) According to *Tonggao* and *Dajinguozhi*, they all say that [the progenitor of the Jin dynasty] came from Silla. His surname was Wanan. The old territories of Silla and Goryeo were intermingled. The Liao and Jin histories often do not differentiate between the two. According to historical records the Silla king was surnamed Kim (金). There is no doubt that after tens of generations the progenitor of the Jin (金) dynasty came from Silla (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 179). (3) The progenitor of the Jin dynasty was originally from Silla (*Research* vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 181). (4) The ruler [of the Jurchen] was originally from Silla. He was named Wanan. The Jurchen upheld him as their ruler (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 183). (5) It seems the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was originally from Silla. His surname was Wanan. His tribe was also called Wanan. Since the surname of the Silla royal family was Kim (金), the remote ancestors of the Jin (金) dynasty were from Silla (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 186). (6) The progenitor of the Jin dynasty came from Silla. He lived with the Wanan tribe and took Wanan as his surname (*Research* vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 193).

Passages such as these which state the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was Korean also appear in *Jinshi* (金史), *Danjinguozhi* (大金國志), *Songmojiwen* (松漠記聞), *Shenluji* (神麓記), *Goryeosa* (高麗史), *Goryeosa jeolyo* (高麗史節要), *Ji bong-yuseol* (芝峯類說), and *Liaoshishiyi* (遼史拾遺) (Kim 1959:86–9). *Research* also states that Gyerim (鷄林), another name for Silla, is the same as Jilin (吉林).

Supporting evidence that the Manchu regarded Koreans as their ancestors is the fact that Korean states such as Baekje and Silla are included in *Research*, a book dealing with the ancestors of the Manchu. The motive for including Baekje and Silla in *Research* seems to be to emphasize the ancient origins of the Manchu, thereby allowing the Manchu to place themselves on equal footing with the Han. Thus, until the eighteenth century when *Research* was published, the Manchu thought of Baekje and Silla as being their ancestors.

Prior Research

Study of *Research* is lacking not only in Korea but in other countries as well. Until now, there have only been several short papers on the subject, and no book-length study of the manuscript. The first person to take note of *Research* in the modern era and claim that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was Bak Eun Sik during the Japanese colonial period. In his article "Mongbae geumtaejo," he claims that the Manchu and Koreans were of the same origin and tried to use *Research* to prove this (Bak 2002:171–75).

There continues to be controversy between Korean and Japanese scholars on the question of the progenitor of the Jin dynasty. Most Japanese scholars doubt the authenticity of the story, while Korean scholars (e.g., Kim Sang Gi and Yi Dong-bok) support it. In 1959, Kim Sang Gi in his paper "Geumui sijoe daehayeo" attempted to prove that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was Korean (Kim 1959:98–101). Unlike the Japanese scholar Ikeuchi, he tried to prove that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was not an imaginary figure, and that it was highly possible that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was an actual historical figure. Yi Dong-bok, likewise, supported this viewpoint and doubted the possibility that the legend was a fabrication (Yi 1981:279–80).

In 1987, a western scholar, Pamela Kyle Crossley, in her "Manzhou yuanliu kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," dealt with *Research* but did not note any close relations between the Manchu and Koreans (Crossley 1987). Recently, Fang Jing Yi claimed that the idea that the Manchu and Koreans are related, or eastern barbarian (東夷 *dongyi*) consciousness, was not a phenomena that suddenly appeared during the eighteenth century Qing dynasty when *Research* was written, but had a long history.[1]

In this paper, the author will try to prove that eastern barbarian consciousness, or the belief that the Manchu and Koreans are related, had a long history and that it originated during the twelfth-century Jin dynasty and continued for hundreds of years until the compilation of *Research* in the eighteenth century. Previously, only a small portion of *Research* had been translated into Korean in a piecemeal fashion, but the full text of *Research on Manchu Origins* was recently translated into Korean, although not by a professional historian (Jang 2008).

Compilation and Contents

Research on Manchu Origins is an official history of the Qing dynasty published in the 42nd year (1777) of Emperor Qianlong's reign. The overall supervisor of the project was Agui (阿桂), a leading military commander of the time. Agui appears to have begun his career as a government official due to the influence of his father, Akedun (阿克敦), a high ranking government official and noted philosopher and scholar. In contrast to his father who distinguished himself academically, Agui appears to have been chiefly a military figure who won Emperor Qianlong's favor due to his suppression of rebellions in the southwest (Zhang 2005:671–72).

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[1] Some Korean scholars who have researched *Research* include Kim 1988, Yi 1976, and Yi 1986.

The most important motivation for the compilation of *Research* was to check the Manchu's assimilation into the Han population, and to allow the Manchu to have pride in their own ancestry. The majority of the people who participated in the compilation were the same people who participated in the compilation of *Sikaoquanshu* (四庫全書), which shows how much importance Emperor Qianlong placed on the project. The foremost purpose of *Research* was to check the Manchu's absorption into the surrounding Chinese cultural settings (Fang 2005:105–9).

Research is composed of four parts: tribes, territory, mountains and streams, and national customs. The tribal section is composed of Suksin, Buyeo, Eumnu, Samhan, Mulgil, Baekje, Silla, Malgal, Wanan, and Geonju. The fact that Buyeo, Samhan, Baekje, and Silla, normally considered Korean states, are included in this section shows that the Manchu recognized them as being related to themselves and were included to show that the Manchu had great ancestors. This allowed the Manchu to put themselves on equal footing with ethnic Han; in effect, allowing the Manchu to claim that they had a civilization as old and as great as that of the Han.

The territory section mainly deals with the geography of the above mentioned tribes. The mountains and streams section deals with the important mountains and streams of this area. The national customs section broadly deals with archery and horsemanship, clothing, religion and politics, sacrificial rites, sacrifices to heaven, worship of gods, miscellaneous rites, government organization, language, and local products.

Idea that Korea was the Jurchen Ancestral Land

The idea that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was a Korean was already widespread in Song, the Jin dynasty, and Goryeo in the twelfth century. As mentioned previously, the name of the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was Hambo. He came from Silla and settled with the Wanan Jurchen, marrying a Jurchen woman. Starting from the time of his fourth generation descendant Seok Ro (石魯), his clan began to gain power, and a few generations afterwards, his descendant, Aguda (阿骨打), founded the Jin (金) dynasty (Kim 1959:90–1).

This seems to be a reflection of frequent contact between Korea and Manchuria during the Joseon period (1392–1910). During the Joseon period, in the Liaodong area, there was frequent overland trade between the two peoples. In addition to official government trade conducted through tribute missions, there was privately based trade conducted on the border. Privately based trade appeared because government trade alone could not satisfy the needs of the Jurchen people. As private trade with Korea became inextricably linked with the Jurchen's livelihood and production, the private trade between the two prospered.

In fact, one reason the Jurchen were able to rise as quickly as they did was because of their absorption of Korean production methods. Previously, the Jurchen people knew only hunting and were totally ignorant of agriculture. In later times, however, the Jurchen imported plow-oxen and iron agricultural implements mainly from Joseon and possibly from other areas and were able to quickly transform into an agricultural society and develop their social economy. Other Jurchen tribes followed suit and also adopted agriculture as their occupation, and procured large numbers of plow-oxen, horses, and iron agricultural tools.

The phenomenon of mixed residence between Joseon and Jurchen was common in both Joseon as well as in Jurchen. This created conditions which furthered cultural exchange and integration between the two (Kim 1999:704–8). Prolonged mixed residence resulted in intermarriage, easier communication, and familiarity with the other's customs. There were many children of mixed Joseon-Jurchen background. The children resulting from such intermarriages were referred to as 'cultured descendants' (*hyanghwajason* or *jajihyanghwa*). The Joseon government did not oppose or ban such intermarriages, but rather, actively gave them official approval.

In the late Ming period, there was a large shift of population from Korea to Jurchen. Hong Taiji, through two invasions of Korea, kidnapped large numbers of Koreans to Jurchen. These Koreans, with their knowledge of agricultural techniques and metal working seem to have played an important role in the rise of the Qing dynasty (Kim 1999:709–11).

In *Goryeosa*, there are two versions of the story of Hambo. One says that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was originally a Korean monk named Geum-jun from Pyeongju and another says that he was a Korean monk named Geuk-su, son of Gim Haeng, also from Pyeongju. Whichever the case, it seems possible that a Korean went to Jurchen and became the progenitor of the Jin dynasty.

An important document dating from this period which states that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was a Korean is *Songmojiwen* (松漠記聞). It was written by Honghao (洪皓), who was sent to the Jin dynasty to negotiate the return of the two captured emperors Huizong (徽宗) and Qinzong (欽宗). Detained for thirteen years, he wrote down what he had seen and heard there. Another Chinese document of this time which states that the progenitor of the Jin dynasty was a Korean is *Shenluji* (神麓記), written by Miaoyao (苗耀).

In a document sent to Goryeo by the Jurchen requesting the return of territory seized by Yun Gwan (尹瓘), a famous Goryeo general, it says, "Our past leader Yingge (盈歌) said that our ancestors came from Korea and therefore we must be loyal to Korea down through the generations," and our current leader Wuyashu (烏雅束) also states that Korea is our ancestral land (Kim 1959:96). In a document sent to Goryeo by Aguda, the founder of the Jin dynasty, it also calls Goryeo the ancestral land. Also, in a document sent from Goryeo to the Jurchen at this time there is a passage which says, "to say nothing of the fact that they [Jurchen] originated from us [Goryeo]" (Kim 1959:98).

In the actual diplomatic relations between Jurchen and Goryeo at this time, the Jurchen consistently took a peaceful approach toward Goryeo. For example, when Goryeo tried to seize Naewon (來遠) and Poju (抱州) territories, Aguda merely ordered a reinforcement of troops and a careful watch of the borders. After receiving information that Goryeo was reinforcing its northern frontiers, Aguda ordered that no invasive measures be taken, but only a careful watch of the borders be kept.

It seems the next Jin ruler also continued these peaceful measures toward Goryeo. He said to his subordinates, "Whosoever dares to invade Goryeo, even if he wins, will be punished" (Kim 1959:100). There must be reasons why the Jin dynasty took such peaceful measures toward Goryeo, but one reason seems to be because the Jurchen regarded Goryeo as their ancestral land (Kim 1999:99–102).

Research *Appraisal of Silla and Baekje Civilization*

At the time of the compilation of *Research*, the Jurchen recognized Silla and Baekje as being their ancestors and therefore included Silla and Baekje in the tribal chapters of the book. By emphasizing Silla's and also Baekje's advanced civilizations, the compilers of *Research* were in effect stating that they had ancestors on an equal footing with the Han. The compilers hoped that through this the Manchu would take pride in their own ancestry.

The majority of the content about Silla and Baekje in *Research* is about tribute and investiture. Cultural exchanges between Silla, Baekje, and China from the Wei-jin to the Tang period were very frequent. Other people mentioned in *Research*, such as Eumnu, Mulgil, Wanan, and Geonju, do not seem to have had such an intimate relationship with China during this time as did Silla and Baekje.

In the Wanan chapter of the tribal section it says, "The progenitor of the Jin dynasty originally came from Silla. He was named Wanan and his tribe was also called Wanan. The surname of the Silla royal family was Kim (金). Therefore the remote ancestors of the Jin (金) dynasty came from Silla" (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 7, p. 186). This clearly shows that the Qing elite, up until the time of the compilation of *Research*, considered Koreans as being their distant relatives. Whether this is true or not, the fact that until the eighteenth century the Manchu regarded Koreans as being their ancestors is interesting.

Another commentary says, "The culture of Baekje and Silla is highly advanced. They frequently interact with Sui and Tang and are also good at composition" (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 2, p. 594). Another says, "The level of civilization of Baekje is equal to that of Silla. They value horsemanship and archery and value books greatly" (*Research*, vol. 7, ch. 3, p. 108). These statements were intended to show that the Manchu had ancestors as old and as great as the Han, allowing the Manchu to take pride in their own ancestry. Other commentaries about other tribes in *Research* rarely show such praise.

In contrast to such positive appraisals on Silla and Baekje, commentaries on Balhae merely say, "The bravery of the Balhae people is such that two Balhae people can face one tiger" (*Research*, vol. 6, ch. 6, p. 177).

Contents of the Silla and Baekje Chapters

The Silla chapter in *Research* is composed of the Silla origins, tribute and investiture missions with China from the Wei-jin to the Tang period, Silla princes held hostage in Tang, succession to the throne in Silla, the formation of the Silla-Tang alliance, relations with Goguryeo and Baekje, and material on Jang Bogo. But in terms of quantity, tribute and investiture missions compose the overwhelming majority, consisting of over eight-tenths. Most Silla-related contents are found in the tribal chapter (部族篇), but some content can also be found in other parts of the book.

Contents	Number of Chinese Characters
Silla origins	829 characters
Location	957 characters
Tribute and Investiture	4,928 characters
Geography	17 characters
Royal Genealogy	21 characters
Customs	23 characters
Culture	24 characters
Jang Bogo	255 characters
War	772 characters

Exchanges between Silla and the Chinese Dynasties

Dynasty	Frequency
Early Chin Fu Chien (前秦 苻堅)	3
Southern Dynasties Liang (南朝 陳)	1
Southern Dynasties Jin (南朝 陳)	4
Northern Dynasties North Qi (北朝 北齊)	9
Sui (隋)	2 or 3
Tang GaoTzu (唐 高祖)	3
Tang Taizong (唐 太宗)	5
Tang Gaozong (唐 高宗)	11
Tang Zhongzong (唐 中宗)	3
Tang Wu Ze Tian (唐 武則天)	3
Tang Xianzong (唐 玄宗)	18
Tang Daizong (唐 代宗)	4 or 5
Tang Dezong (唐 德宗)	4
Tang Shunzong (唐 順宗)	1
Tang Xianzong (唐 憲宗)	9 or 10
Tang Muzong, Jingzong (唐 穆宗, 敬宗)	6
Tang Wuzong (唐 武宗)	1
Tang Wenzong (唐 文宗)	5
Five Dynasties (五代十國)	9 or 10

The contents of the Baekje chapter in *Research* are very similar to that of the Silla chapter in that tribute and investiture missions with China from the Wei-jin to the Tang period comprise the overwhelming majority. The Silla chapter contains a total of 7,838 Chinese characters.

As mentioned above, the composition of the Baekje chapter is similar to the Silla chapter. Tribute and investiture missions comprise the majority of the content, followed by content related to war. When Tang sent envoys to Silla, the envoys sent were always their top scholars and elite officials. In contrast, when Tang sent envoys to Balhae, only nameless eunuchs were sent. This means that Tang clearly differentiated between Silla and Balhae (Gwon 2005:23–6).

Manchu's Sense of Identity

It is a common misconception that a century or so after the Qing (Manchu) conquest of China in the early seventeenth century the Manchu became totally assimilated into the Han population, completely losing their sense of identity. The Manchu's thinking about their own distinct ancestry and their self-perception endured longer than most people assume. Although the use of the Manchu language and the Manchu's sense of identity has declined, nevertheless, the Manchu language was used in official documents until the twentieth century and the Manchu's sense of identity likewise seems to have persisted into the twentieth century.

From the beginning of the Manchu conquest of the Chinese mainland in the early seventeenth century, Manchu bannermen living in the Chinese provinces lived separate lives from the surrounding Han population in segregated, walled towns called Manchu cities. The purpose was to prevent the acculturation of the Manchu into Han surroundings.

The creation of the Jurchen alphabet by Nurhaci (r. 1616–1626) was an important factor in the creation of Manchu identity, and was directly linked to a sense of Manchu national identity and ethnicity. The motive for the creation of the Jurchen alphabet was to break away from the influences of the Mongol culture (Seo 1979:18–9).

From the beginning of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the Manchu harbored a mistrust of the Han population and tended to discriminate against them. Legally, the Han population had many disadvantages as the Manchu held privileges such as legal immunity. Manchu would be punished considerably less for the same crime than a Han and in many cases the crimes of a Manchu would go unpunished altogether.

The customs of the Manchu were distinct from the surrounding population in terms of religion, naming practices, and the position of women. Such distinctions persisted into the twentieth century. In terms of religion, the Manchu practice Shamanism. The first thing the Qing emperor did on New Year's Day was to perform sacrifices at the shaman shrine. Such practices aroused the curiosity of the Han who were never allowed to view such rituals.

Manchu names transcribed into Chinese characters seemed to have no meaning to the conquered Han, but had meaning in the Manchu language. Manchu naming practices differed radically from the Han. Manchu children were named for their appearance, their personal characteristics, for animals, plants, and objects. Names such as Kirsa (steppe fox), Unahan (colt), and Jumara (squirrel) were not uncommon. Other Manchu naming practices included numeral names and naming individual dogs, horses, and even elephants, which the subjugated Han population did not do (Elliott 2001:241–43).

Manchu women did not have bound feet, as most ethnic Han women did. Manchu women rode horses alongside men and even participated in hunts. Manchu women had more freedom, and as widows, they were allowed to remarry, unlike the majority of Han women. Manchu women were entitled to inherit property and enjoyed higher social standing and educational opportunities.

The Manchu woman's appearance was also different. Her clothing with narrower sleeves and her hair set her apart. The hair was drawn back from the forehead and tied behind in a knot. Distinctive jewelry such as three earrings in one ear was common.

In order to check assimilation, the Qing government decreed that when a Manchu bannerman in the provinces passed away, he was to be buried in Beijing and his remaining family was to be repatriated to Beijing. This policy was maintained until the mid-Qing era, but was abolished later in the dynasty for practical reasons.

It is a common misconception that the Eight Banners became obsolete a century or so after the founding of the dynasty. But in places such as Xi'an, military preparedness was very high well past the mid-Qing period. Even during the mid-Qing period, the warrior spirit continued to exist.

A sense of Manchu identity endured and it seems that, contrary to what is widely believed, the Manchu language was used until the very end of the dynasty, as can be seen by the official documents written in Manchu which remain today.

The Manchu's sense of identity endured until the end of the dynasty and contrary to what is widely assumed, the Manchu did not become completely assimilated into the surrounding Han population. In terms of religion, customs, and the position and appearance of women, the Manchu were distinct and such distinctiveness endured until the end of the dynasty (Elliott 2001:265–80).

Conclusion

The Jin dynasty progenitor Hambo emigrated from Goryeo to Jurchen, married a Jurchen woman, and settled there. Beginning from the time of his fourth generation descendant Seok Ro (石魯), his tribe began to gain power, and a few generations afterwards, his descendant Aguda founded the Jin dynasty (Kim 1959:87–9).

This reflects the intimate contact between the Joseon and Jurchen people from around the late fourteenth to the early twentieth century. Many Joseon people fled from their homeland and settled in Jurchen because of their own government's heavy taxation and oppression. Intermarriage was common and Koreans played an important role in developing the Jurchen social economy by introducing agriculture.

The idea that the Jin progenitor was a Korean was widespread in Song, the Jin dynasty, and Goryeo at that time and can be confirmed in the Song dynasty document *Songmojiwen*, documents the Jurchen sent to Goryeo, and also in *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeolyo*. Because the Jurchen thought of Goryeo as their ancestral land, the diplomatic policies the Jurchen took against the Goryeo were always peaceful.

This eastern barbarian consciousness, where the Manchu regarded Silla and Baekje as being their distant relatives, continued from the time of the Jin dynasty until the publication of *Research on Manchu Origins* in the eighteenth-century Qing dynasty.

The fact that states normally considered Korean, such as Buyeo, Samhan, Baekje, and Silla, are included in a book on Manchu origins further supports this fact. The intention of the compilers for claiming Baekje and Silla as their ancestors seems to be to place themselves on an equal cultural level with the Han.

Also, contrary to what is widely believed, the Manchu did not become assimilated into the Han population a century or so after their conquest of mainland China, but retained a sense of self-identity until the end of the dynasty. Their customs, religion, and lifestyle remained distinct from the Chinese and although the use of the Manchu language has declined, it nevertheless continued to be used until the twentieth century.

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■ Source: Stary, Giovanni, 'An unknown chapter in the history of Manchu writing: the "Indian letters" (tianzhu zi)', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (2004), pp. 280–291.

AN UNKNOWN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF MANCHU WRITING: THE "INDIAN LETTERS" (*TIANZHU ZI* 天竺字)*

Giovanni Stary

According to the official historiography of the Qing dynasty, the evolution of the Manchu alphabet was completed in 1632 with the so called "Dahai reform"[1] which—apart from some minor modifications brought about in 1947 due to the writing used by the Sibe[2]—was the final outcome of a long gestation process which began on the Mediterranean shores passing through the Uigur and Mongol civilizations:

> Damit war der Triumphzug der syrischen Schrift vollendet, der so von den Gestaden des Mittelmeers auf dem Wege über die Uiguren und Mongolen die Ufer des Amur und des Stillen Oceans erreicht hatte.[3]

Totally unnoticed, on the other hand, has remained another evolutionary phase of the Manchu alphabet in the Qianlong period. This was brought about as a consequence of the Manchu translation of the Kanjur. In particular, it was meant to allow the correct recitation of the various *dhāraṇī*-s: "A dhāraṇi-mantra lost its efficacy if it was not correctly pronounced".[4] This reform consisted in the creation of a series of new letters meant to reproduce specific Tibetan (< Sanskrit) graphemes, as it is shown in the first chapter of the *Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統.[5] Here (appendix 1) we notice the following: the first line presents the characters of the Lantsa (Lañca, or Rañanā) alphabet—yet in a "Chinese fashion", since diacritical marks such as the "visarga" (ᢁ) have been placed to the left of the grapheme and *not* to the right; the second line presents the Tibetan letters; the third line has the new Manchu letters; the fourth line exhibits the corresponding Mongol letters; the fifth line shows the Chinese pronunciation.

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* The author wishes to thank his colleagues Helmut Eimer (Bonn) and Vladimir L. Uspenskij (St. Petersbourg) for their precious help throughout this research.

[1] This reform, its taking place, and Dahai's real contribution to it have recently been the object of studies which have brought to light its most probable historical context, which diverges from the official version: see Tatiana A. Pang, "The Manchu script reform of 1632: New data and new questions", in J. Janhunen and V. Rybatzki (eds), *Writing in the Altaic World*, Helsinki 1999, pp. 201–206; M. Weiers, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Entwicklung der mandschurischen Schrift", in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 55/1–2 (2002), pp. 269–279.

[2] See G. Stary, "Die Orthographie-Reform der modernen Schriftsprache der Sibe", in *Central Asiatic Journal* 41/1 (1997), pp. 76–121.

[3] B. Laufer, "Skizze der manjurischen Literatur", in *Keleti Szemle* IX (1908), p. 5; for a different opinion, see E. Hauer on pp. 118–119 of his "Abriss der mandjurischen Grammatik" (in *Aetas Manjurica* 2 (1991), pp. 117–146: "Die mongolische Schrift geht zurück auf die uigurische, die ihrerseits nicht, wie bisher angenommen, aus der syrischen Estrangelo-Schrift abgeleitet, sondern eine spätere Form der aus einer noch nicht festgestellten, semitischen Schrift abgeleiteten soghdischen Schrift sein soll."

[4] Lokesh Chandra, *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking in the Manchurian, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan Scripts*, part 1, New Delhi 1966, (Śata-Piṭaka Series 71/1), p. vii.

The practical applications have been published in the so called *Ali gali*-s (< Mong. 'vowels and consonants'),[6] the best known of which—i.e. the *Han-i araha Manju Nikan Monggo Tanggūt hergen-i kamciha ali g'ali* (*Yuzhi Man Han Menggu Xifan hebi ali g'ali* 御製滿漢蒙古西番合璧阿禮嘎禮)—was compiled in connection with the Manchu translation of the *dhāraṇī*-s titled *Han-i araha Manju Nikan Monggo Tanggūt hergen-i kamciha amba g'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni* (*Yuzhi Man Han Menggu Xifan hebi Dazang quanzhou* 御製滿漢蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒), together with the *Han-i araha Manju Monggo Tanggūt hergen-i kamciha tarni hūlara arga* (in Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan only).[7]

In order to complete the reconstruction of the evolution of the Manchu alphabet, this *Ali gali* must be compared with a table compiled by the Japanese editors of the *Wuti Qingwen jian* 五體清文鑑 (WT)[8] as well as with the works of Gan Dexing 甘德星[9] and Luo Wenhua 羅文華[10]—up till now the only ones who have dealt in depth with this issue (see table below). Apart from the already cited anthology of *dhāraṇī*-s in four languages, some concrete examples can be found in the reproduction of

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[5] The first edition is dated 1750; reproduced in Lokesh Chandra, cit., part 21, New Delhi 1976, pp. 8677–8928; last reprint: Hainan chubanshe 2000. A summary of it is offered in the 15th chapter of the *Qingchao tongzhi* 清朝通志 (several reprints). See also W. Simon and H.G.H. Nelson, *Manchu Books in London*, London 1977, no. II.26.A.

[6] See R.A. Miller, "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Ali Gali as Grammatical Terms in Tibet", in *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 26 (1966), pp. 125–147, and D. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skich kočevnikov*, Moskva 1972, pp. 72–77 and 193.

[7] These three quadrilingual works have been reprinted in the Śata-Piṭaka Series edited by Lokesh Chandra, cit., vol. 71, parts 1–2 and 21.

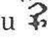
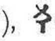
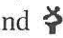
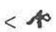
[8] *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wên-chien*, translated and explained by J. Tamura, S. Imanishi, H. Sato, vols. I–II, Kyoto 1966–1968, p. xix.

[9] "Manwen lomazi pinxiefa chuyi 滿文羅馬字拼寫法芻議", in Yan Chongnian 閻崇年 (ed.), *Manxue yanjiu* 滿學研究, vol. 6, Beijing 2000, pp. 50–68.

[10] "'Manwen Dazang jing' cangchuan fojiao huihua 《滿文大藏經》藏傳佛教繪畫", in *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 3 (2003), pp. 32–42.

single pages as well as in the title pages of the Kanjur, published in various journals and monographs.[11] As a curiosity, we can observe that the letter (not comprised in the above-mentioned sources with the exception of WT) is found in the *J'ibzun ma j'olma ǰuk so* (< *rJe btsun ma sgrol ma bzhugs so* = *Lü jiu du fo mu zan* 綠救度佛母讚): see appendix 2.

At this point, we are faced with the problem of the correct transliteration of these letters. In partial disagreement with WT, Gan and Luo, we think that transliteration should strictly adhere to these five fundamental (and subjectively more rational) rules:[12]

1) To each letter of the original alphabet must correspond a specific and unequivocal letter in the system of transliteration, so as to allow an immediate identification of it;
2) As in Von Möllendorff's system, the combination or heaping of letters in order to express a single grapheme (for instance: *dz*, *ts*, etc.) *cannot* be accepted;
3) Letters which have already been adopted in the transliteration of specific graphemes cannot be used with a different value or function in the rendering of other graphemes: thus, for instance, *gha* can only indicate Manchu  and not an aspirated vowel as in . The same holds true in the case of the apostrophe, already employed in the transliteration of letters (k'),  (g'), and  (h');
4) Where possible, the transliteration should mirror the graphic evolution of the Manchu grapheme. Thus, for instance, < s, <  j' < j, < n, etc.;
5) Transliteration should not be too complicated from a typographic point of view (for instance: j̊).

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[11] See Ch. R. Bawden, "A Volume of the Kanjur in Manchu Translation in the Library of the Wellcome Institute", in *Zentralasiatsche Studien* 14/2 (1980), pp. 65–84; *Forbidden City / Zijincheng* 紫禁城 1 (1993), p. 25; Zhu Jiajin 朱家溍 (et al. eds.), *Liang chao yulan tushu* 兩朝御覽圖書, Beijing 1992, pp. 142–143, 165, 196. More examples are found in Chuang Chi-fa, "A Study of the Ch'ing Dynasty Manchu Translation of the Tah Tsang Ching", in Ch'en Chieh-hsien (ed.), *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference, September 12–17, 1992, Taipei, China*, Taipei 1993, pp. 59–71. An original wooden plate is published, with some other illustrations, as appendix (pictures 6 and 7) to the article of Chun Hua 春華, "Lun 'Manwen Dazang jing' de yuyanxue jiazhi 論《滿文大藏》的語言學价值", in *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 6 (2001), pp. 66–69. The best reproductions, including plates, are found in a collection of articles published in *Forbidden City / Zijincheng* 紫禁城 4 (2001).

[12] We utilize Erich Hauer's system (*Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, Tokyo-Hamburg-Wiesbaden 1952–1955) as our basis.

All new letters have been created according to the following four criteria:

1) Creation of entirely new letters (for instance:);
2) Development of pre-existing letters (for instance:);
3) Different position of already existing diacritical marks with new value (for instance:);
4) Acceptance of Tibetan < Sanskrit diacritical marks (for instance:);

Other Tibetan graphemes have been transliterated according to Manchu orthographic rules (for instance: = niya).

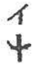
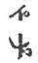
	Description	Remarks/proposals	WT	Gan	Luo
o	Aspiration, Tibetan transcr.: h	In Ma. it is impossible to use *h* (already existing). Impossible to use an ' (theoretically possible for , , etc., but already used for g', k', h'). **Proposal:** use of °: b°u.	uses an ' for , , etc., but 1° for (i.e. two systems for the same mark)	h"	h
	Developed from / (j) in inital and internal position.	**Proposal:** ȷ	ǰ (already used in Hauer for)		
	Developed from (>) in initial and internal position. Tib. ṭ, a plosive sibilant.	Tib. trans, ṭ is misleading *in Ma.*, since no graphical connection with "t" (but with "j") exists. Impossible j, ǰ, j' already in use, while j° would indicate aspiration (°). **Proposal:** j̊	j̊ (° too artificial?)	ǰ'	ṭ

Table (*cont.*)

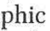
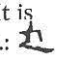
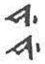
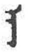
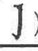
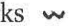
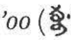
	Description	Remarks/proposals	WT	Gan	Luo
	Tib. ṣ, Ma. = graphic development < s	**Proposal:** ṣ (like Tib.)	š̤	s"	ṣ
	Ma. developed < s	**Proposal:** s̥	s̥	s'	
	Ma. developed < š	**Proposal:** š̥	š̥	š'	
	Tib. t̲s̲[a] <sanskr. c̲a) Ma. graphic development < z.	Impossible use z, z', ž/ź already in use; impossible z° already in use for aspiration (s. foll.) **Proposal:** z̊	dẓ	z'	ts'
	Tib. d̲z̲h̲[a] <sanskr. jh̲a (° = aspiration!)	**Proposal:** z°		zh"	dzh
	Tib. ṅ, Ma. graphic development <  n. Final position:	**Proposal:** ṅ (like Tib.)	ṅ	n"	ng
	Indicates in sanskr. a "visarga", and (in Sandhi) a final s. It is preserved in Chin.:  = mas(i) 嘛斯. Tib. trans. ḥ	From graph. point of view, there is no Ma. connection with Tib. trans. ḥ; its acceptance would be misleading because suggests an aspiration. For Ma., a (phon. more correct) use of s + a diacritical mark is more logical. **Proposal:** š	ḥ	: already used for Manchu "colon"	ḥ
	"anusvāra", indicates "nasalization" of the following syllable. In Chin. transliterated with a syllabe in *-n*, *-ng* or *m*[a]. Examples: = 薩嘛 sam̲[a], but also 三 san̲. = 靈 lin̲g̲ Tib. ṃ, put at the end of the sillable: saṃ etc.	**Proposal:** ṃ (like Tibetan)	m°	m'	m̊
	Tib. ṛ. developed from r.	**Proposal:** ṛ (like Tibetan)	ṛ	ṛ	

Table (*cont.*)

	Description	Remarks/proposals	WT	Gan	Luo
	In *initial* position only, **graphically** similar to Manchu t in *internal* position. Tib. ṇ	**Proposal:** ṇ (like Tibetan)	ṇ	n'	ṇ
	In *initial* position only, **graphically** similar to Manchu d in *internal* position, (variants according to following *a/o/ū/i* or *e/u*).	**Proposal:** ḍ (like Tibetan)	ḍ	d'	d'
	Tib. ḅ	**Proposal:** ḅ (like Tibetan)	ḅ	b'	p'(*)
	Tib. ṗ	**Proposal:** ṗ (like Tibetan)	ṗ		
	aa = tib. ā. (final pos. )	**Proposal:** ā		a'	aa

(*) misprint for b' ? The sometimes hardly recognizable difference between ḅ/ṗ and b/p is found in the interrupted left semicircle: ḅ , ṗ .

Out of curiosity and for reasons of completeness we should mention three other diacritical marks, of very limited use being referred to only six syllables, which are described at p. 30 and 31 of the *Tongwen yuntong*'s second chapter: these are the diacritical marks which are meant to express the so called 'omitted a'—and precisely the mark x in k'a ( ) and g'a ( ) in the *Chamalu* (camra) *ji* 查嘛嚕記, and the marks  and in pa (/) and ḅa (/) in the *Wubadama* (Upadharma) *ji* 烏巴達嘛記, as well as in the Tibetan treatise, *rGya dkar nag rgya ser ka smi ra bal bod horgyi yi ge dang dpe ris rnam grangs mang ba bzhugs so* (p. 5a–b).[13] This is analogous to the use of Tibetan ཉ ñ, which is added—once or thrice—to the Manchu syllables *g'o* (, in Chinese 鍋。) and *g'oo* (, in Chinese 鍋。。。), found in the *Baluda* (vṛddhi) *ji* 巴魯達記 (see p. 29 of the *Tongwen yuntong's* second chapter; all diacritical marks are furthermore summarized on p. 26 of the above-mentioned *Ali gali*).

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[13] I am indebted to Professor V. Uspenskij, St. Petersbourg, for this information.

The time when this 'reform' took place (which, from the publication of the *Tongwen yuntong* published in 1750, should be placed around the middle of the 18th century), the nominal composition of the 'experts', and all the various historical and especially linguistic issues involved in the creation of these new letters will need to be further probed in future researches.

As concerns the *Tongwen yuntong*, the following dignitaries (*chen* 臣) in charge of its compilation are mentioned:

Compilation supervised by (*jianzuan* 監纂):
Yunlu 允祿, Imperial prince Chuang (*Heshuo Chuang qinwang* 和碩莊親王).
Fuheng 傅恆, Lecturer at the Imperial Classics Colloquia (*Chingyan jiangguan* 經筵講官), Grand Guardian (*taibao* 太保), Grand Academician of the Baohedian (*Baohedian daxueshi* 保和殿大學士), Chamberlain of the Imperial Body-guard (*ling shiwei nei dachen* 領侍衛內大臣), Duke Zhongyong (*Zhongyong gong* 忠勇公).
Wang Youdun 汪由敦, Lecturer at the Imperial Classics Colloquia (*Chingyan jiangguan* 經筵講官), Grand Preceptor of the Heir Apparent (*taizi taishi* 太子太師), President of the Ministry of Justice (*xingbu shang-shu* 刑部尚書).
Nayantai 納延泰, Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent (*taizi shaobao* 太子少保), Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council (*yizheng dachen* 議政大臣), President of the Court of Colonial Affairs (*Lifan yuan shang*-shu 理藩院尚書), Mongol Commander of the Bordered Blue Banner (*xiang lan qi Menggu dutong* 鑲藍旗蒙古都統).

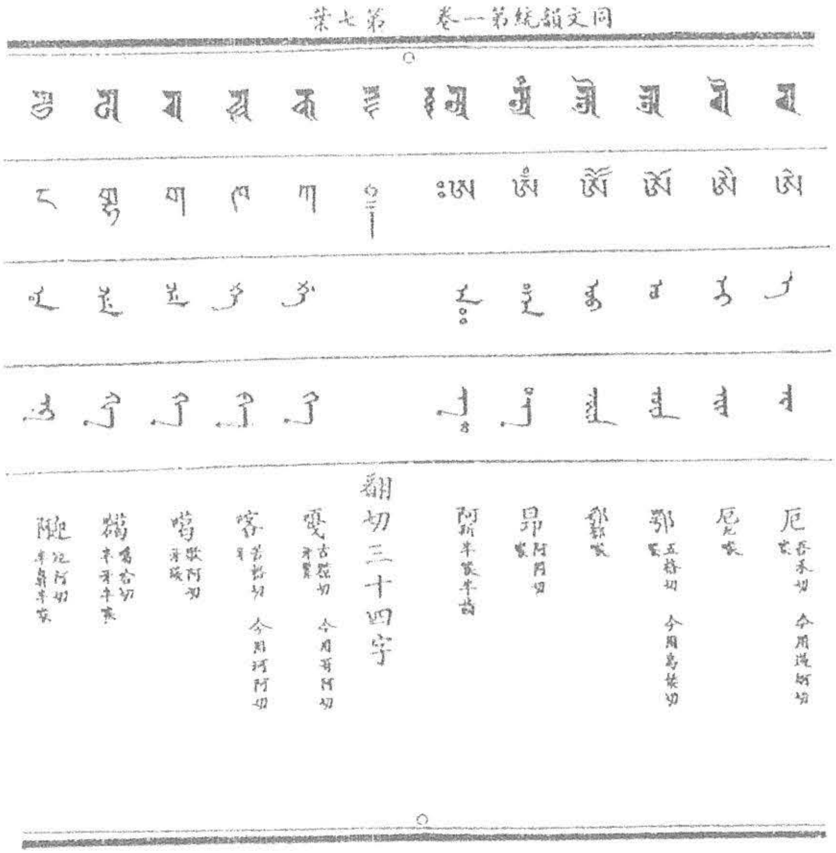
Compilation revised by (*zuanxiu* 纂修):
Zhangjia hutuketu [lČaṇ-skya qutuqtu] 章嘉胡土克圖, Great Preceptor [with the title] "Guanding pushan guangci" (*Guanding pushan guangci da guoshi* 灌頂普善廣慈大國師").

Collected and put together by (*huibian* 彙編):
Liu Tongxun 劉統勳, Lecturer at the Imperial Classics Colloquia (*Chingyan jiangguan* 經筵講官), President of the Ministry of Works (*Gongbu shangshu* 工部尚書).
De Tong 德通, Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council (*yizheng dachen* 議政大臣), Censor-in-chief of the Censorate (*du chayuan zuo du yushi* 都察院左都御史), degraded but retained in office (*gezhi liuren* 革職留任).
He Guozong 何國宗, Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works (Gongbu zuo shilang 工部左侍郎), degraded but retained in office (*gezhi liuren* 革職留任).
Zhang Ruocheng 張若澄, Senior Admonisher of the Left Secretariat of the Heir Apparent (*zuo chunfang zuo zanshan* 左春坊左贊善).

Translation revised by (*jiaoyi* 校譯):
Wulemuji 吳勒穆濟, Vice Direktor of the Court of Colonial Affairs (*Lifan yuan yuanwai lang* 理藩院員外郎).
Fu Liang 福亮, Vice Director of the Tibetan School (*Tanggute xue siye* 唐古特學司業).
Fu Cheng 傅成, student of the Tibetan Office (*Tanggute guan xuesheng* 唐古特官學生).
Ming Ding 明鼎, Seal-holding head priest of the Wanshou Temple (*Wanshou si zhangyin zhuchi* 萬壽寺掌印住持).
Hai Kuan 海寬, Head priest of the Jingmo Temple (*Jingmo si zhuchi* 靜默寺住持).
Yuan Tai 源泰, Head priest of the Longwang temple (*Longwang miao zhuchi* 龍王廟住持).

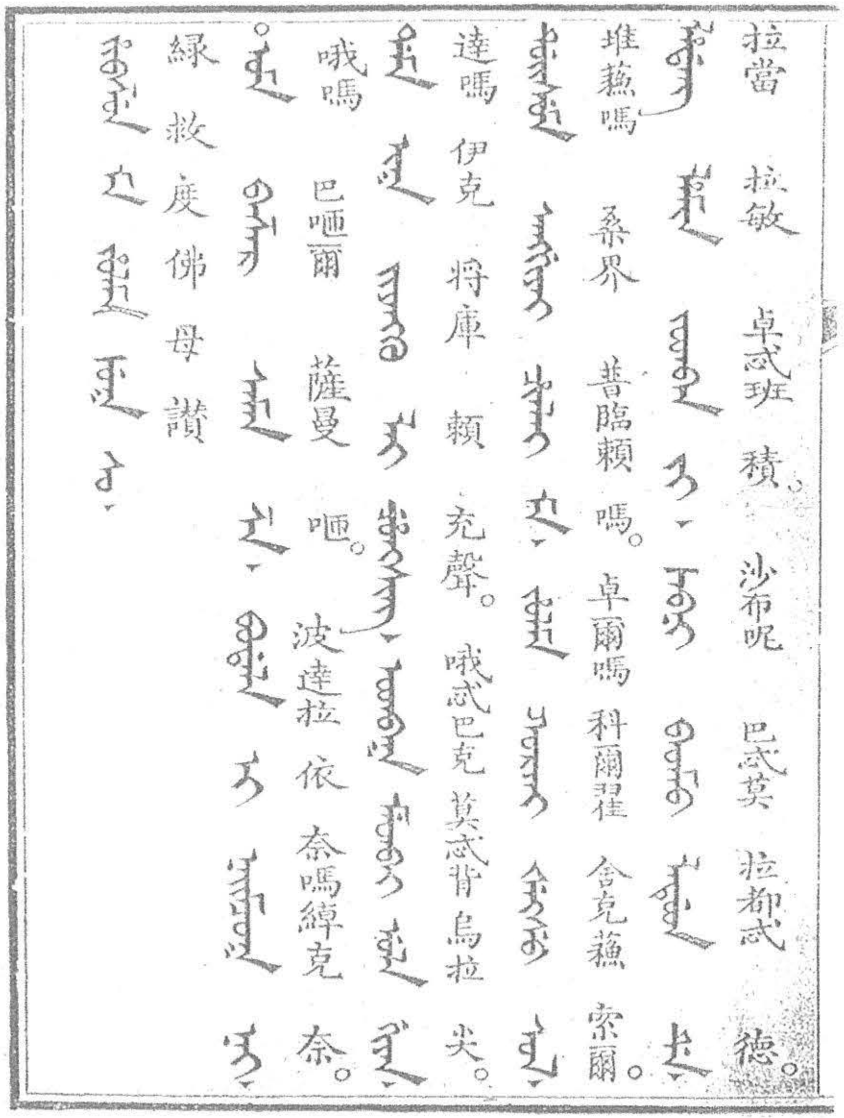
Appendix 1

Example from the *Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統, chapter 1, p. 7.



Appendix 2

First page of the *J'ibzun ma j'olma ǰuk so* with the letter ཊ (first two words of the last line: *l°dang l°amin*)

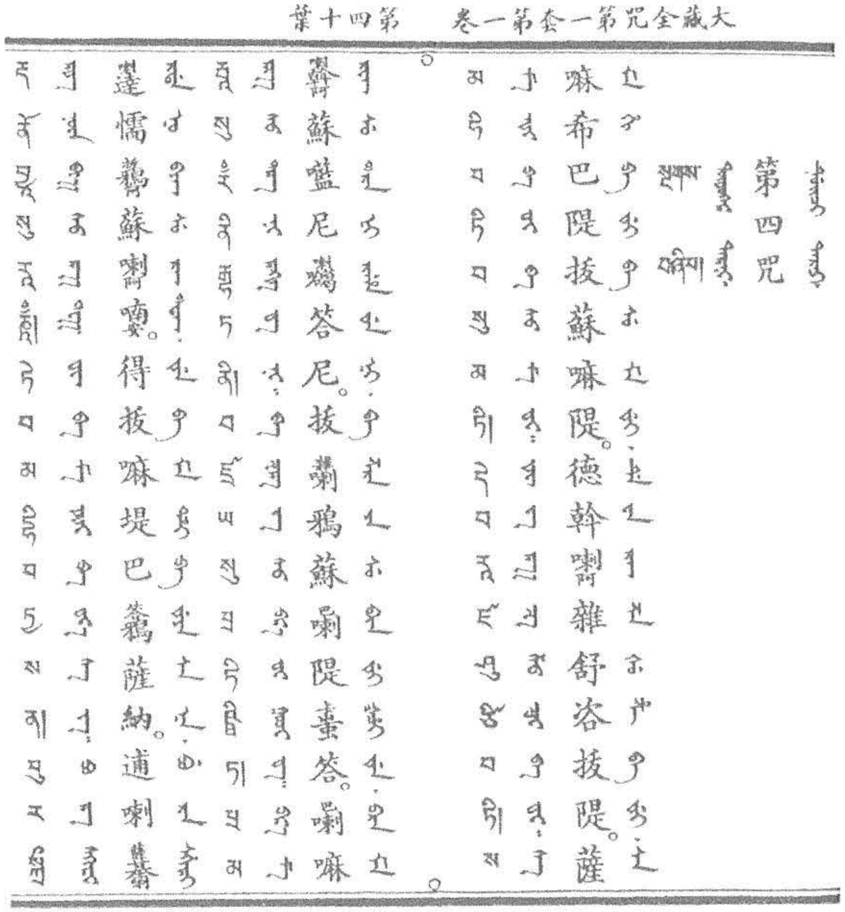


Appendix 3

A sample of the *Han-i araha Manju Nikan Monggo Tanggūt hergen-i kamciha amba g'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni* (1st chapter of the 1st *tao*, p. 40: the 4th tarni [*dhāraṇī*]).

Transliteration of the Manchu text (from right to left)

Duici tarni.
[1] ma hi ḅa ḍi ba su ma ḍi. de wa rā za šu že ba ḍi. sa [2] rwā su raṃ ni rg°a ḍa ni. ba zra ya su ḅra ḍi ṣc'i ḍe. ḅra ma [3] rda no byā su rā ṇāṃ. ḍe ba ma d°a ḅa ḍya sa na. ḅu ra sgiṛi

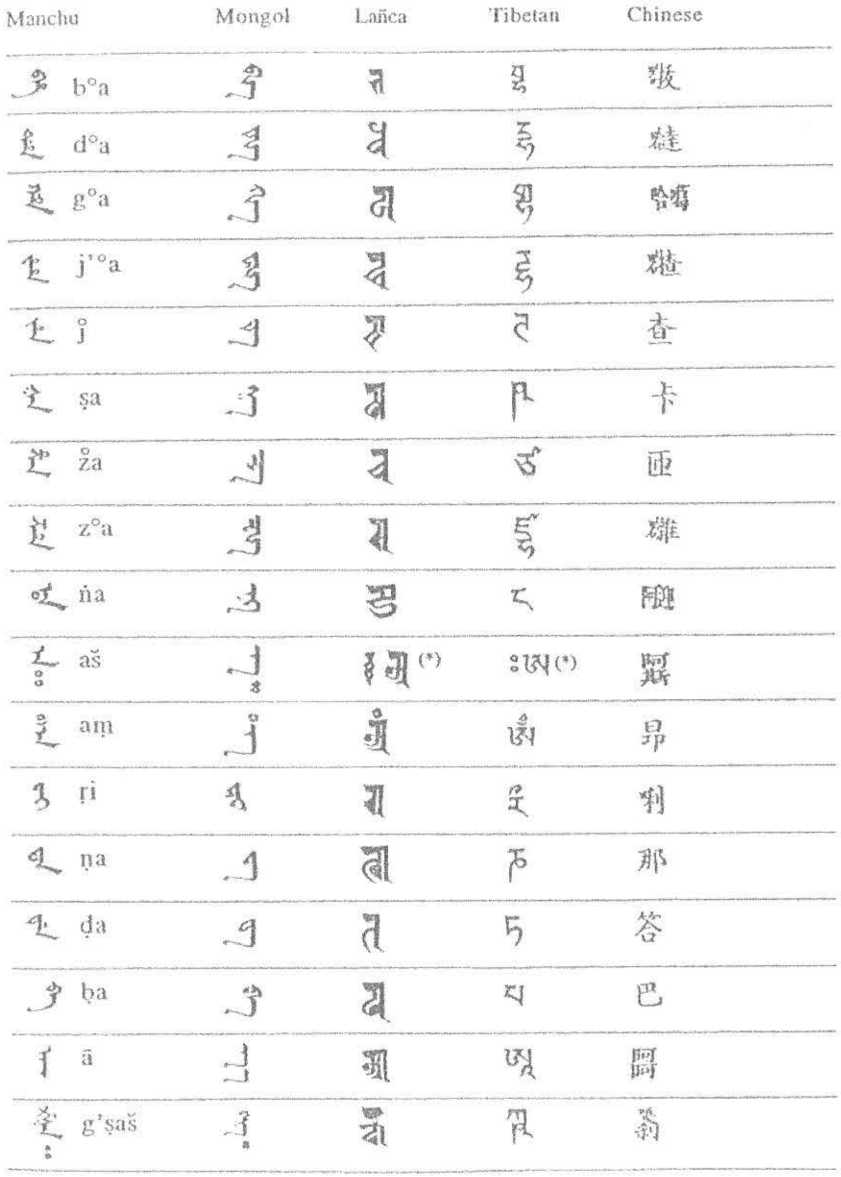


大藏全咒第一套第一卷　第四十葉

第四咒

Appendix 4

A comparative synopsis of some Manchu "Indian letters" as found in the *Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統, chapter 1, pp. 6–10.



Manchu	Mongol	Lañca	Tibetan	Chinese
b°a				
d°a				
g°a				
j'°a				
j̊				
ṣa				
žå				
z°a				
ṅa				
aš		(*)	(*)	
aṃ				
ṛi				
ṇa				
ḍa				
ḅa				
ā				
g'ṣaš				

(*) to be read from right to left

■ Source: Martynov, Aleksander Stepanovich, Aleksandrovna Pang, Tatiana, 'About ideology of the early Qing dynasty', in *Archiv Orientální*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (August 2003), the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, pp. 385–394.

ABOUT IDEOLOGY OF THE EARLY QING DYNASTY

Aleksander Stepanovich Martynov and Tatiana Aleksandrovna Pang

At present, it is difficult to state precisely who had the definitive role in initiating Manchu-Tibetan relations. Probably, the most interested side was the third one—the Mongols. The vast steppes west of the Great wall still recalled that in 1253 Khublai Khan invited the nineteen-year old Phagba (*'phags pa*) Lama to his court, and that Phagba Lama became the emperor's spiritual tutor—a circumstance granting extremely high status to the Lamaist priests during the Yuan dynasty. The Mongolian world also remembered that in 1578 the mighty Mongolian leader Altan Khan offered an invitation to the Third Dalai Lama, which stimulated a new flourishing of Lamaism in the Mongolian steppe.[1] It can thus be supposed that, having such historical experience, the Mongolian dukes addressed the Qing emperor Hong Taiji[2] with the advice to invite the Fifth Dalai Lama to the imperial court in Mukden. The Qing emperor willingly agreed to that suggestion, and in 1639 the embassy was sent to Lhasa with the letters to local Tibetan governors. Approximately at the same time, a Tibetan mission headed by Ilaγuγsan Khutukhtu was sent to the Manchu capital. In the winter of 1642, the mission reached Mukden and was warmly received at the court; a special fortune-telling ceremony was even arranged that, naturally, predicted favourable developments for Manchu-Tibetan relations. In the summer of 1643, bestowed with generous presents, the Tibetan mission (primarily consisting of high-ranking lamas) started on its way home, purveying the imperial messages to the civil and religious governments of Tibet.

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[1] Martynov, A.S., *Status Tibeta v XVII–XVIII vekach* [The state of Tibet in the 17th–18th centuries], Moscow 1978, p. 93.

[2] The second Manchu emperor, whose name was Hong Taiji (in Chinese Huang Taiji, temple name Taizong 1592–1643), was the 18th son of Nurhaci and in European literature is known as Abahai. This last name is mentioned neither in Manchu, nor in Chinese sources. Prof. Stary has proved that this historiographic mistake appeared in literature because of incorrect interpretation by V. Gorski who understood the Manchu reigning title of Hong Taiji, *Abkai sure*, "Wisdom of Heaven" (1627–1643) to be the emperor's personal name. Since V. Gorskii was the first translator of the *Kai guo fang lüe* into a European language [Russian: "Начало н первые дела маньчжурского дома [The beginning and the first deeds of the Manchu ruling house], *Трубы членов российской буховной миссии в Пекине* [The works of the members of Russian religious mission in Beijing], 1, Sankt Peterburg 1853, pp. 1–187], his mistake was assumed by E. Hauer (*Huang-Ching k'ai-kuo fang lüe*, Berlin 1926) and W. Hummel (*Eminent Chinese of the Qing period*, reprint ed., Taiwan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 1–3). See articles by G. Stary, "The Manchu emperor 'Abahai': analysis of an historiographic mistake", *CAJ* 28/3–4 (1984), pp. 296–299; "The problem 'Abahai'—Hong Taiji: a definite answer to an old question", *CAJ* 43/2 (1999), pp. 259–265; "An additional note on 'Abkai sure'", *CAJ* 44/2 (2000), pp. 301–304.

Among these messages, the most interesting for our topic is the one addressed to the factual political governor of Tibet—the Mongolian duke Gushi-khan. The text of this message runs as follows:

> The generous, humane and sage emperor of the Great Qing empire sends a letter to Gusri Khan. I have known that [in Tibet] there were those who broke the Dao and were against the teaching [of Buddha], and you have punished them. I have noticed that from the ancient times, when [All-under-Heaven] was ruled by the sage emperors, Buddhism has never been interrupted. [Thus now I] want to render homage to the famous Tibetan monks, and for this I send my envoys together with Ilaguksan Khutukhtu [to all Tibetan lamas] disregarding the colour of their dress, red or yellow. Let them look everywhere for people who will spread the teaching of Buddha and thus obtain state prosperity.[3]

From the standpoint of today, it is difficult to determine whom Hong Taiji had in mind when speaking about the sage protectors of Buddhism. Naturally, the sage emperors (Yao, Shun and Yu) according to Chinese political doctrine did not have any relation to Buddhism. The only supposition that thus remains is the same Khublai Khan as for the Mongols. Nonetheless, it is necessary to note that the words of the Manchu emperor about the lamas and the Buddhist teaching brought under his patronage found a vivid response both in the Mongolian steppe and Tibet. In 1644, when the Manchus occupied the Ming capital, Gusri Khan sent a letter to the new emperor Fulin (reign title Shunzhi, 1644–1661, temple name Shizu) for the second time requesting that he invites the Dalai Lama to the court. On the other side, the Buddhist hierarchy itself did not remain passive. In 1647, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama sent to the new capital their greetings and golden statues of Buddha. In response, in 1646 a special mission headed by Sherab gelun (*Shes rab dga' lon*) was sent to Tibet with the official invitation to the highest Lamaist leaders to visit the new rulers of All-under-Heaven.

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[3] *Qing shi lu, Taizong chao shi lu* [Qing historical records. The records of the Taizong reign] Juan 64, f. 23a.

What were the reasons that motivated the courtiers of the young emperor in sending forth the mission of Sherab gelun? The answer is rather difficult to find, though it is most likely that they were aiming to preserve the court balance among the adapts of the Chinese and Mongolian technique of political government. The existence of a similar ideological conflict in the Manchu court is proved by the events of earlier times.

The first direct contact between the Tibetans and the Manchus refers to 1621, when the lama Ulug Darhan visited the first capital of the new Manchu state Hou Jin (1616–1626) founded by Nurhaci in 1616. In 1634, one of the Mongolian dukes presented Hong Taiji with the Buddhist statue of Mahākāla made, according to legend, by Phagba Lama (1235–1280) himself to be offered to the monks of the Wutai Shan Hill, and later transferred to Tibet. Afterwards, it was owned by the descendants of the Yuan emperors. During the Ming dynasty it was in the Mongolian steppe at Chahar Ligdan Khan's possession. Its presentation to the Manchus meant that its new owner was seen as the follower of the Yuan dynasty. The donator of the Mahakala was received with great honour and escorted to the capital.[4] In 1636 the temple Shisengsi was specially constructed for that statue, where later one of the four copies of Manchu Kangyur was also kept.[5]

The acquisition of the Mahākāla statue was directly connected with the defeat of Ligdan Khan by the Manchus and his death in 1634. With the capture of his wife and son in 1635, the Manchus obtained a seal with the legend *Zhigao zhi bao* which previously belonged to the Yuan emperors. In the Manchu chronicle *Jiu Manzhou dang* of the 9th year of Tiancong (1635–1636), the story of that seal in Hidehiro Okada's translation is given as follows:

> The seal had been used by successive emperors of olden times until it passed to the Mongol Dai Yuan [Great Yuan] Empire. When Tohon Temur Han [Toghan Ternür Khan] lost his empire to Emperor Taidzu Hûng U [Taizu Hongwu] of the Chinese Dai Ming [Great Ming] Empire, gave up his city of Daidu and fled into the desert, he took the jade seal with him. After the khan's death at the city of Ing Cang Fu [Yingcangfu], the seal was lost. After more than two hundred years had passed, a Mongol herding his flock at the foot of a hill outside the Great Wall saw a goat that did not eat grass for three days but kept scratching the ground. He dug where the goat

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[4] Ibid., juan 21, f. 20a.

[5] Gimm, M., "Zum mongolischen Mahäkäla-Kult und zum Beginn der Qing Dynastie—die Inschrift *Shisheng beiji* von 1638", *Oriens Extremus* 42 (2000/2001), pp. 69–103. According to Gimm, the statue was brought to the Manchus in 1635 by Mergen Lama from the clan of Ligdan Khan.

> scratched and found the jade seal there. Thereafter the seal belonged to Bošoktu Han [Bošuγtu Khan] (of the Tümed [Tümet] Khanate) who was a descendant of the Mongol Dai Yuan emperors. Later, Bošoktu Han's nation was attacked and destroyed, and the jade seal was taken by Lingan Han of the Chakhar,who also was a descendant of the Dai Yuan emperors.[6]

In this connection the followers of the Mongolian type of rule saw in the young Manchu state a legitimate successor of the Mongolian empire of Čingisids.

As if answering that diplomatic act, which called to mind strong hints of the Yuan dynasty emperors, the adapts of the Chinese political ideology began to recall their own, still more ancient history. The receipt of the seal by the emperor Hong Taiji was interpreted as a sign of his transformation into the real Son of Heaven and the ruler of All-under-Heaven. Commenting on this event, the Manchu general Kong Yude (d. 1652)[7] wrote:

> From the old times, the rulers who received the mandate of Heaven would definitely receive the signs of confirmation. In the ancient times of Wenwang, the sign of this were the singing phoenix birds on the mountain of Qishan. Now, the emperor has received the seal that was passed from dynasty to dynasty. These two signs may be considered as similar.[8]

Kong Yude was convinced that the seal allowed him to assume that All-under-Heaven would have "the rulership of the emperors Yao and Shun".[9] The fact that the seal was shown to the Korean envoy as the grant of Heaven means that the discovery was given a truly official status.[10]

We are convinced that the sequence of these events was not a matter of chance, and proof that the Manchu court was passing through a very tense political struggle resembling 'a tug-of-war'. One side wanted to persuade the new imperial court to follow the way of Yuan, while the other side definitely preferred Yao and Shun. The latter saw in the

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[6] Okada, H. "The Imperial Seal in the Mongol and Chinese Tradition", in G. Stary (ed.), *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent Altaistic Conference (PIAC). Kawasaki, Japan: August 7–12, 1995*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1996, pp. 273–280. In this article the author analyses the history of the imperial seal starting from the Qin dynasty and proves that there were two seals. One bore the legend *Shouming yu tian zhi shou yong chang*, "Mandat received from Heaven: longevity and prosperity", and was lost in the beginning of the 17th century. The second seal with the legend *Zhigao zhi bao*, "Seal of the imperial order", was the one Hong Taiji received in 1635 (pp. 278–279).

[7] Hummel, op. cit., 1, pp. 435–436.

[8] *Qing shi lu. Taizong chao shi lu*, juan 25, f. 3a.

[9] Ibid., juan 25, f. 8b.

[10] Ibid., juan 25, f. 29b.

Manchu army "the troops which listen to Heaven and answer the needs of people (*shun tian yin ren zhi shi*).[11]

According to political logic, after acquiring the seal it was obligatory to make the next step—to legitimize a new Manchu state as an Empire. (We may recall that the early Manchu state had already existed since 1616). Creation of an empire was necessary both for the Manchu aristocracy and Mongolian dukes, and this question was discussed as of supreme significance in an abundance of documents in the "Shi lu" for 1635–1636 years. As Hong Taiji hesitated and the courtiers insisted, it remained nonetheless clear to all that too much was needed to proclaim the unified All-under-Heaven. One may notice that the question of the seal was the central for the adherents of quick legitimization.[12] In this situation, Hong Taiji obtained good advice with reference to the Ming history, which he used as response to the initiators of legitimization. Not being opposed to a new "honorary title", the Manchu emperor recalled that

> the Ming Hongwu [emperor Zhu Yuanzhang, 1328–1398, reigned 1368–1398, royal title Hongwu, "thunderous martial"—A. M., T. P.] firstly united people, then gained an honorary title in Jinlin, and only after that pushed the Great Yuan dynasty to the north and completed unification.[13]

It is, though, difficult to prove that this statement could make its later appearance in official documents as a result of ideological editing on the part of the Qing orthodoxies who, on the one hand, had no reasons to humiliate the Yuan and, on the other hand, to take an example of the dynasty which they wanted to destroy in the nearest future. According to the early Manchus, Zhu Yuanzhang became the emperor who came from among the peasants and rightly gained the mandate of Heaven at the time when the previous Yuan dynasty was not able to retain it.[14] The reference to Zhu Yuanzhang confirms that by 1635–1636 the political consciousness of the Manchus was already "imperial": they saw themselves to be not the enemies of the Chinese state which they wanted to conquer, but as the only power which could establish order in the entire East Asian region including Hou Jin, Mongolia, Korea and, naturally, the central plain. Tibet was indirectly involved into the regional imperial policy: the Mongols used lamas in their political practice, which they intended to force onto the Manchus. The first Manchu emperor Nurhaci favoured the lamas' interpretation of Buddhism as the means of unification of the Manchus and the Mongols, as well as finding common religious views of the "eight banners" Mongols and some Chinese[15]—even though Hong Taiji did not like them very much, believing them to be deceivers and profit-seekers.[16]

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[11] Ibid., juan 25, f. 23b.

[12] Ibid., juan 26, ff. 26b, 28b.

[13] Ibid., juan 27, f. 12a.

[14] Pan, T.A., "Nahodka kontsa XX veka: samyi rannii man'chzhurskii ksilograf [Discovery in the end of 20th century: the earliest Manchu xylograph]", *Altaica* IV., Moscow 2000, pp. 91–100.

During the last years of the Hou Jin, thanks to the political initiative and military campaigns of Nurhaci and Hong Taiji, the state had enlarged its territory and united the Jianzhou Jurchens not only with the other Tungus-Manchu tribes, but Mongols and Chinese as well. As mentioned above, the most numerous Mongolian group, the Chahar Mongols, surrendered to Hong Taiji in 1635. This was the last step in the formation of the Mongol banner, which started in 1622, while the first Chinese banner appeared in 1635.[17] In this connection, of great importance for unification is the decree of 1635 issued by Hong Taiji which abolished the self-designation of "Jurchen" and established "Manchu" for the entire population of the Hou Jin and its successor the Great Qing.[18]

The Yuan jade seal was accepted by the Manchus as the sign of Heaven to announce a new empire. In the 3d moon of 1636, the Great Qing[19] empire was proclaimed, and Hong Taiji assumed the traditional Chinese reigning title, stated in three languages. In Manchu it was *Gosin Onco Hûwaliyasun Enduringge*, in Mongolian *Aγuda Oröšiyegèi Nayiramdaγu Boγdo Qaγan*, in Chinese *Guan wen ren shen huangdi*, all of which meant "humane and kind, clever and sage emperor". He also changed the reign's title: the 10th year of *Tiancun* ("the Heaven's mind") was renamed into the 1st year of *Chunde* (in Chinese), *Wesihun erdemungge* (in Manchu) and *Degedü erdemtü* (in Mongolian), which meant "the high benevolence force *de*". Those great political events were followed by special sacrifices—"the report to Earth and Heaven and sacrifices to them".[20]

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[15] Gao Qinren, "Nuerhaci yu lama jiao [Nurhaci and Lamaism]", *Qing qian ski luncun* [Essays on the early Qing history], Shenyang 1994, 364–372.

[16] Song Dexuan, *Manzu zhexue sixiang yanjiu* [The study of Manchu philosophical thought], Shenyang 1994, p. 125.

[17] In 1637 there were two Chinese banners, in 1639 four, and the Chinese banner formation was finished in 1642.—See Elliot, M., *The Manchu Way. The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in the Late Imperial China*, Stanford (Cal.) 2001, pp. 72–78.

[18] Traditionally, we call the period from the end of the 16th century till 1636 'early Manchu', since in the documents of that period the Manchus are named "Jushen"—Jurchen. Only after 1635 did they change their self-designation.

[19] The title Da Qing ("the great purity") was taken in contrast to the Chinese Da Ming ("the great light").

[20] *Qing shi lu. Taizong chao ski lu*, juan 25, ff. 14a–17b.

For us, what remains unclear in this succession of important events of state is simply the ritual act—we have no evidence according to Chinese or Manchu ritual tradition that this report was made. All the rest may be considered as a triumph of the Chinese traditional doctrine, according to which the emperor ruled thanks to the mandate received from Heaven.[21] This fact explains the choice of the reign's title; Hong Taiji did not want to be remembered as a conqueror who had come to the Mongolian, Chinese (north-eastern part) and Korean land with sword and fire. He preferred the image of a great pacifier, and he openly spoke of it many times. For example, addressing to the Mongols in 1633 he said:

> I, the emperor, want to change peoples spreading my benevolence force *de*. I want to unite peoples [under my power] and give them possibilities of peace and happiness.[22]

Naturally, in response to that all subjects praised the emperor saying that he had an enormous power of *de*, the reason why it appeared in the new eponym. In its political meaning, the change of "the Heaven's mind" to "the high benevolence force *de*" could be interpreted as a transfer to a concrete policy of "the great enterprise".

In the circumstances of the highly tense Manchu-Mongolian ideological and political situation, of especial interest is the second item advice of Gushi-khan, to invite the Dalai Lama to the new capital. In *Qing ski gao* [Qing Annals] we read:

> Next year [i.e. 1644—A. M., T. P.] Emperor Shizu placed a tripod in Yanjing [i.e. Beijing—A. M., T. P.] and united [all lands] ... Gusri Khan repeated his address to the throne [in which it was said]: 'Since the spiritual virtues of Dalai Lama are innumerable, it is necessary to invite him [to the capital] to perform a Buddhist ceremony (*feng song jing zhou*—literary 'to sing sutras and mantras'), thus providing [the new state] with benevolence and help of the spirits.'[23]

It is worth analyzing this passage from the official history which, though brief, is one in which every word was gravely considered and checked many times. Firstly, what is evident is that the second item of advice from the Mongols to invite the Dalai Lama is directly connected with the occupation of the Ming capital and a wish to include him into a new imperial structure. Secondly, the Dalai Lama is seen as a high priest who would guarantee the fate of a new political structure. The mission consisted of more than two thousand people, which clearly points out that the Mongols wanted to present a gorgeous show in the capital. Thirdly, what to our mind is rather typical to the traditional consciousness of that region: the technical term *yu* [a roof, peace—A. M., T. P.] is clearly universal. In the address of Gusri Khan and later under the brush of the compilers of the *Qing shi gao*, this term had a religious meaning, as if supporting the Chinese modern historians[24] who underline the existence in political consciousness of a vast region (China, Manchuria, Tibet, to some extent Korea) in its unity and equivalence to the whole world.

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[21] Pan, T.A., Kontseptsiya Neba u rannih man'chzhur [The conception of Heaven of early Manchus] (in print).

[22] *Qing shi lu. Taizong chao shi lu*, juan 19, f. 11a.

[23] *Qing shi gao*, juan 525, part 8, p. 1668. "Ershiwushi" Series. Shanghai 1987, vol. 12.

Gusri Khan, when recommending the Dalai Lama as a high priest, pointed out that "spiritual merits" (*gong de*) of the latter are innumerable. In Chinese Buddhism, *gong de* is a technical term which, in Buddhist understanding, designates all good qualities that make one's karma better.[25] Gusri Khan (or the authors of *Qing shi gao*) used this term very precisely when speaking about the spiritual merits of the Tibetan priest. In support of Gusri Khan, the two Tibetan hierarchs—the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama—decided to send large delegations with presents to the young emperor Fulin (reigned 1644–1661, royal title Shunzhi) and thus "express and glorify" (*biao song*) the *gong de* of the new ruler of the Middle Kingdom—which here has a specific political meaning as the proclamation of a new empire.

We should say that this terminological innovation is in no sense a later development. It was an irony of fate that, in Chinese historiographic literature, the foundation of the dynasty might be defined in a similar way, but refer to two separate actions. The first was an act done by the founder of the dynasty, the *gong*—"heroic deed". The aim of his descendents was to preserve these achievements, meaning that they were in possession of a benevolence force that gave them the possibility to maintain those achievements. It was this force that helped to continue the "great enterprise" and was known as *de*. There can be no doubt that the presents for the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama were meant to "express and praise *gong de*" in its Buddhist meaning—as spiritual merits of the donators themselves. This understanding, however, was not adopted by Chinese historiography, itself a discipline where the role of terms was very important. Those who have worked with Chinese official texts of the first years of Shunzhi know that the Manchus never used the word "to conquer" and preferred another, Chinese, term based on universal and overwhelming imperial power. Even in the Manchu version of *Kai guo fang lüe*, the entrance of the Manchu army to Peking is defined by the word *toktobumbi*—"to pacify a country" (Chinese—*ping ding*), or on occasion *hilume toktobumbi*—"to pacify a country with charity".[26] In this way, the entrance of the Manchu army to Peking is described in this historical text:

> When on the day of *jichou* [June 6, 1644—A. M., T. P.] the army came to Beijing, all civil and military officials of the former Ming came out [from the city gates] for 5 *li* to express their greetings. When Zui Qingwang [i.e. Dorgon—A. M., T. P.] entered the Chaoyangmen Gates, the old and young burnt incense and greeted him kneeling. The eunuchs brought the imperial palenquin of the previous Ming in front of the Forbidden city and kneeled on both side of the road. When they asked the prince to take the palenquin, he answered: 'I am the regent to the young emperor, like the duke Zhou, and cannot sit in the state palenquin'. Everybody made *koutou* and said: 'Since the duke Zhou ruled as regent, you should take the sedan-chair'. The prince answered: 'Since I came to bring order to the empire, I must follow common opinion'. He allowed the great escort to take its place in front of the palace gates, the imperial regalia were placed in order. Then he, accompanied by music, greeted Heaven, kneeled three times and made *koutou* nine times. Then he kneeled three times and made *koutou* nine times facing the imperial palace. After that, he entered the palenquin and moved to Wuyindian where he sat on the throne and received *koutou* from the ministers of the previous Ming. Since the prince had ordered his solders to climb the walls and not to enter the houses, people did not suffer from robbery and violence.
>
> On the day *gengyin*, Zui Qingwang ordered the minister of war: 'Now, our dynasty has mercifully pacified Yanjing. The suffering civil and military officials of the whole empire are like our children whom we saved from water and fire. That is why announcements about invitation and pacification should be sent to all cities. Those officials who on the day of announcement will shave their heads and surrender will be promoted in rank; neither military nor civil officials should be sent back. As concerns high military and civil officials, they should personally come to the court with the registers of grain and money. If there are any who will express their surrender but will not shave their head . . ., a time limit should be given to them in accordance to the distance to their homes. Those who arrive in time should be generously awarded. Those who will come later than time limit or will not come at all should be considered as disobedient, and measures of punishment should be established for them . . .".[27]

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[24] Song Dexuan, op. cit.

[25] Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian* [Great Dictionary of Buddhism], Beijing 1984, p. 464.

[26] Zaharov, I.I., Pol'nyi man'chzhursko-russkii slovar' [The complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary], Sankt Peterburg 1875, p. 737, 503.

[27] *Fukjin gurun-i bodogon-i bithe*, juan 6, ff. 28b–30b. The given translation is made from Hauer, E., *Huang-Ching k'ai-kuo fang lüe*, Berlin 1926, p. 585.

Rumors about the approach of the great and numerous Tibetan mission of up to two or three thousand people disturbed the Manchu court, leading the place and character of the reception to be widely discussed by the Manchu high officials. The results were as follows: they agreed to receive the high-ranking guest because he was invited by the emperor Hong Taiji, though at the same time they agreed that it should be done in the "outer territories". Since all that was organised in sake of pacifying the Khalkha, the audience in the "outer lands" was more effective than in the Central Plain. It is interesting to note that the Manchus defined the arrival of the Dalai Lama as a pure political visit. They did not express any interest in Dalai Lama's reading sutras and mantras (as it was suggested by Gusri Khan), and announced: "We express our respect to the Lama according to ritual, but *do not convert into his religion*".

The Chinese officials were more categorical: the transformation of the Manchu state into the Middle Empire, or All-under-Heaven, must dictate the ritual of the reception of all those who come to the imperial court as the subjects. Therefore, the young emperor Fulin should not go to any "outer territories", but a high official should be sent there and meet the Dalai Lama. The Chinese courtiers Hong Chengchou (1593–1665)[28] and Chen Zhilin (1605–1666) presented their own report where, according to the Chinese traditional imperial ideology, they placed the problem in a cosmic scale:

> We, the subjects, have read in the report of the Imperial observatory that recently the star Taibo [the planet Venus—A. M., T. P.] by its light tried to compete with the Sun. Moreover, a meteorite entered the constellation Ziweigong.[29] We, the humble subjects, suppose that the Sun is the image of the emperor. Nevertheless, the star Taibo dared to compete in brightness with it. The constellation Ziweigong is the place for the ruler of peoples. Nevertheless a meteorite dared to enter it. When the skies show us the signs, one should be extremely careful.

This was followed by discussion of a year of famine and the difficulties of the political situation of those times. The report ends with a rather striking conclusion:

> The way of Heaven is far and deep, and it is not we, the humble subjects, who can understand it. Nevertheless, [if in this moment] when[30] the imperial carriages are prepared for departure and we observe the perturbation of stars, it is a real sign of love and humanity of the high Heaven. And You, your majesty, should deeply think over it and realize warnings [sent from above].

The young emperor—in reality his courtiers—heard those Heavenly warnings and answered his critics with words of thankfulness:

> The words of your critical report concerning me not going to meet the lama are extremely correct. That I have stopped is [the result] of your cleverness, abilities and devotion to service.[31]

When reading the report of Hong Chengchou and Chen Zhilin, one feels the necessity to underline how vital the traditional cosmic interpretation of the universal empire was in China of those days. Unfortunately, behind those two officials stands a shadow of Adam Schall (1591–1666), who was the head of the Astronomical Board and who, without doubt, did not believe in the existence of the star Taibo.[32]

From the time when the Manchus turned to the rapid development of the state (*kai guo*) in north-eastern China ("in Eastern territories"), the geo-political history of that region could offer them only a limited number of ways for further development. In reality, the dilemma lay in the following: whether to become transformed into an integral part of China, or to conquer China and found their own dynasty. In the last case, it remained undecided whether to effect a partial separation from the Chinese society, if only in certain aspects, or to absorb the traditional Chinese culture. The authors hope that the above material clearly demonstrate that long before "entering the outposts" (*ru guan*) and during the first years in Peking, the Manchus had chosen the Chinese model. As some modern Chinese historians say, the Manchus *chong ru zhong dao*—"respected Confucian and appreciated Dao". This tendency is clearly seen in the material from the following years as well, and is also proved by the failure of the Dalai-lama's visit: in the eyes of the Manchus, he could not be more than "a local governor who arrived from afar". This interpretation may also be found in the texts of Dalai-lama's diploma.[33]

We hope that the above given material from the official documents allows us to state the following conclusion: even in the first years of the

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[28] Hummel, op. cit., i, pp. 358–360.

[29] This constellation is situated in the area of the North Pole.

[30] *Qing shi lu. Shizu chao shi lu*, juan 68, ff. 31b–32b.

[31] Ibid., juan 68, ff. 32b–33a.

[32] Martynov, *Status Tibeta . . .*, p. 106.

[33] Martynov, A.S., "On the Status of the Fifth Dalai Lama", in: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös memorial symposium*, Budapest 1978, pp. 289–294.

new empire, the Manchus had made their choice—they did not want to follow the Yuan dynasty example, and preferred to become one of the most "traditional" dynasties in the history of China. Nonetheless, even in admitting so, we have to make a certain remark—the Qing monarchy still reserved a special place, if not the first, for Lamaism.

■ Source: Crossley, Pamela Kyle, '*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the formalization of Manchu heritage', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (November 1987), the Association for Asian studies, Inc., pp. 761–790. Published by Cambridge University Press, reproduced with permission.

MANZHOU YUANLIU KAO AND THE FORMALIZATION OF THE MANCHU HERITAGE

Pamela Kyle Crossley*

During the Qianlong period (1736–95) in China, knowledge of Manchu origins, much of which had been of a folk or informal character, was given documentary institutionalization—that is, incorporation into the Qing (1636–1912) imperial cultural mosaic by the act of writing something official about it. Much but by no means all of Manchu civilization was derived from Jurchen culture (tenth–seventeenth centuries), which was primarily a folk culture in which oral tradition, shamanic ritual, and clan custom were the mainstays of orderly social life.[1] Inseparable from those folk traditions were elements of tribal rule that affected political life in many ways in the Later Jin (1616–35) and early Qing periods. To the extent that Manchu society retained the archaic forms through the Qing era, the folk heritage was brought into conflict with the political institutions and classical traditions of conquered China, especially the emperorship. The history of the Qing court and its relation to the Manchus may be viewed as the aggregate of the processes by which the dynasty attempted to resolve this conflict through formalization of the old culture. In its political aspects this meant the progressive bureaucratization, regulation, and depersonalization of the state in displacement of the personal, diffused authority that had once been vested by tradition in the clans and confederations. In its cultural and ideological facets, it meant the documentation of descent, myth, clan history, and shamanic practice; what had once been various and mystically obscure was now made visible, manageable, and standard. The many mechanisms of Qing formalization were mutually reinforcing, each contributing to the concentration of authority and legitimacy in the institution of the emperorship. In actuality neither political practice nor the dynastic culture was fully formalized; to the end of the Qing period, archaic elements were in evidence and in conflict with formal institutions, whether political or ritual. Nevertheless the court's efforts tended to ossify or obviate those elements of the Manchu heritage that threatened to impede the centralization and codification of the state. It is not surprising that the apex of the process of documentary institutionalization coincided with the zenith in refinement of the imperial institution. Less expected, perhaps, was a concomitant change in court representations of the nature of Manchu identity, as a sense of definitive culture receded before a rising concensus of definitive race—that is, of immutable identity based on ancestral descent.[2]

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Throughout the *pinyin* style of romanization is used for Chinese, and for Manchu the Möllendorf-Norman system that has become standard. Where texts have both Manchu and Chinese titles, the Manchu is provided first, followed after a semicolon by the Chinese title. Manchu clan names appear in brackets [] because the clans were of great personal and some political importance, but in Manchu custom were not part of an individual's formal name.

[1] The Jurchens (*ruzhi, ruzhe, ruzhen, nuzhi, nuzhe, nuzhen*, in Chinese) were related to or descended from the Heishui Mohe people of the Tang period, who in turn shared ancestry with the Bohai people of southern Manchuria (see below). On the Mohes and their antecedents, see *XTS*, 219.6177–78; Shavkunov (1968:24–26); *MJ*, (1977:6–7). On the Jurchens, see Tao (1976) and (1981); Kiyose (1977); Jin and Jin (1980); Rossabi (1982).

Many of the works produced in the documentary institutionalization process, particularly the *Researches on Manchu Origins* (*Manzhou yuanliu kao*), reveal at least as much about the eighteenth-century attitudes of

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[2] The intention of using the term "race" here is to find a relatively specific word that can carry the sense of traditional Chinese terms like *guo* or, importantly, *zu*. "Ethnicity" is entirely unsuitable, for it is not only as ambiguous as "race" but also is best applied, I argue elsewhere, to the marginalizing aspect of the growth of Chinese nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Crossley forthcoming); applying "ethnic" to pre-nineteenth-century issues is, I think, an unhelpful extension of an already overstretched term. "National" is desirable in its denotative qualities, but its connotations again make it as ambiguous as "ethnic," and its use in the present context would hobble it for its better applications to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "Race" in its rather archaic sense of a set of persons sharing a fixed point of origin, whether a single individual in historical times or an archetypical figure (singular or plural) from prehistory, best describes the conceptions of eighteenth-century Chinese—and indeed northern European—thought on this matter of descent and identity. It is meant to be contrasted to the culturalist ideas of the seventeenth-century Manchus and to nationalist and ethnic concepts of the nineteenth century. For a general discussion of the comparative definitions of race and related concepts, see Banton (1980).

the Qianlong emperor and his court as of the truths of Manchu origins. Indeed, as will be discussed below, the conceptual framework of the most important works was discernibly influenced by the political and ideological interests of sovereigns from Nurgaci (r. 1616–26) to Hongli, the Qianlong emperor. At the same time, the production of these volumes was a function of the broad literary policies of the middle eighteenth century. The methodology of evidential scholarship (*kaozheng*),[3] the bureaucratic structure of the "Four Treasuries" (*siku quanshu*)[4] project, and the personal interest of Hongli were all indispensable elements in the process that led to the completion of the collections on the history and culture of the Manchu people. It was not, however, in the development of schools of scholarship and philosophy that the guiding tenets of this category of documentation were forged. *Researches on Manchu Origins* and related works were carefully designed additions to the traditional corpus brought under care and scrutiny in the Four Treasuries process, and their purpose was to reflect the dynastic view at maturity on the nature of Manchu identity and its relationship to the universalism that was fundamental to the emperorship.

The Charge to the Manzhou yuanliu kao

Under the Yongzheng emperor Yinzhen (r. 1722–35) the foundation works of Manchu documentary institutionalization—the *Comprehensive History of the Eight Banners* (*Jakūn gūsai tongjy {i sucungga wailehe} bithe; Baqi tongzhi {chu ji}*; completed in 1739) and the *Comprehensive Genealogies of the Eight-Banner Manchu Clans* (*Manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejehe bithe; Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu*; completed in 1745)—were begun as part of the bureaucratization of the Banners, which was based on a progressive elimination of princes' (*beile*) rights to Banner command and a diminution of clan discretion over the "hereditary companies" (Huang 1974:162–84). The interests of the succeeding Qianlong court were more political and more curatorial. Works of the period included the romantic *Ode to Mukden* (*{Han i araha} Mukden i fujurun bithe; {Qinding} Shengjing fu*; 1743)[5] in addition to *Rites for the Manchu Worship of Heaven and of the*

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[3] After the terminology of Peterson (1979:166–67) and Elman (1984:6).

[4] I do not intend to discuss the particulars of the *siku quanshu* except as they relate to the present topic. For background, see Guy (1987); Elman (1984:65–66); Goodrich (1935).

[5] The ode, possibly based on the 1668 records of Unuma's travels (Melikhov 1985:34–35), was first translated into French by Amyot in 1770 and later was retranslated and printed

Spirits (*Manzhou jishen jitian dianli*; 1781), which opened Qing shamanism to bureaucratic review. Publication of the *Researches on Manchu Origins* (*Manzhou yuanliu kao*) in 1783 marked the height of the documentary institutionalization of the Manchu heritage. It drew together folk traditions, the historical record, and Qing political interests into a coherent work. The *Researches* project was initiated by an imperial edict dated September 20, 1777. Since that edict articulates the court's motives in commanding the project and ambitions for the finished work, it is worth examining in some detail.

The edict opens with an allusion to the *History of the {Jurchen} Jin* (*Jin shi*), a compilation on the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) that had been translated into Manchu under Hung Taiji (1592–1643),[6] was being revised under Hongli, and would become a source for the *Researches* (see Appendix). According to his reading of the Jin history, Hongli observes, the ancestors of the Wanggiya (Wanyan), the Jin imperial clan, lived among the Mohe confederation within the territory of the ancient Sushens, where the White Mountain and the Black River are found. The White Mountain, he notes, is obviously Changbaishan, and the Black River the Heilongjiang in the Northeast.[7] This is the very place where the Manchus rose. In former times, it is well known, certain of the peoples who later came to be known as Manchu were called *zhushen*. One can suppose with reason, Hongli suggests, that *zhushen* is a fairly recent reflex of the remote name of the Sushens and that the peoples shared not only a territory and a name but probably a language and certain traditions as well.

He offers an example. According to the *History of the Later Han (Hou Han shu)*, the Sushens in relation to their infants had the peculiar practice of "using a stone to flatten the skull." This was contrary to all common sense. But it was an old custom of the Manchus, Hongli reminds his readers, that infants more than a few days old were put to bed in such a way that over the course of time the posterior portion of the skull did indeed

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with the Manchu text by Klaproth in 1863. See also Etō (1934:14–16 and 1956:37–48); Crossley (1985:22–23); Stary (1981)—for this last reference I am indebted to James E. Bosson and Mark Elliott.

[6] Hung Taiji (Qing Taizong) succeeded his father as second khan of the Later Jin in 1627 and later created himself emperor of the Qing dynasty. His biography in *ECCP*, 1–3, is under the doubtful name of "Abahai"; for comment, see Roth 1979:7. "Hung Taiji" is a romanization of the name as it occurs in the early Manchu records.

[7] The region now called "the Northeast" (*dong-bei*) in Chinese encompasses the provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang, including the Korean Autonomous District (*Yanbian chaoxianzu zizhi zhou*) and the UNESCO preserve at Chang-baishan. Westerners have traditionally called part of the region "Manchuria."

become flat. Regrettably the Sushens left no records of their customs in order that those coming afterward might have an informed view of their traditions rather than engaging in the sort of groundless speculation that resulted in preposterous notions.

Similarly, the emperor notes the confusion in the Chinese records over the names of the Three Hans of Korea. He is referring to Chinhan, Mahan, and Pyŏnhan (in Chinese, Zhenhan, Mahan, and Bianhan), the three early states that existed on the Korean peninsula coeval with the Lolang Commandery (108 BC–AD 313).[8] It is now impossible, he admits, to explain all the elements in the names of these early societies. But *han* in each case is clearly a reference to a tribal ruler—a khan. The historians simply did not know that *han* was a term for a leader. With only guesses to guide them, they somehow came to the conclusion that *han* was a word for a clan or a lineage, a notion that "is not worth a moment's attention." Once such a crude usage has taken root, Hongli notes, it is very hard to pull loose. For example the name of Jilin Province, once the territory of the Korean states Silla and Paekche, had been corrupted in the Tang histories[9] to "Chicken Woods," which remained the standard transcription for centuries thereafter. Clearly, the emperor concludes, people of the past were without methods of evidential scholarship (*kaozheng*).

The Manchus and their immediate predecessors in the Northeast, Hongli goes on to emphasize, were subjected to just such mistreatment in the Chinese records. During the Ming period (1368–1644) in particular, "propagandists of the most scandalous inclinations picked over every word, every line, every paragraph, with no object other than to defame." The scholars of the time, after all, had been only dogs barking in the service of their masters. Take the matter of the phrase "Eastern Barbarians" (*dongyi*). Because of their geographical locations, Mencius had referred even to Shun as an "Eastern Barbarian," and King Wen as a "Western Barbarian." This could hardly be concealed (*hui*).[10] Indeed, Hongli insisted, there was no justification for concealing it, and thus the emperor waves away centuries of debate among Chinese scholars who, unlike himself, bristled at the imputation of barbaric origins to their heroes.[11] But even in the present, Hongli complains, there are people who demean the Aisin Gioro because they do not appear to be of the same people as the imperial clan of the Jin Jurchens of the Northeast. He reminds his readers that in Manchu, Aisin means "gold," just like the dynastic name of the Jurchen Jin; this is sufficient proof that the imperial Aisin Gioro clan is a branch of the original Jin Jurchens. In fact, he continues, in the present day those in service to the court, spread as they are over the realm, are justly united in their reverence for the Qing, and it will ever be so.

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[8] *MYK*, 8.10–11, discusses the Three Hans on the basis of materials culled from the *History of the Later Han*, *History of the Jin Dynasty*, and *History of the {Jurchen} Jin*.

[9] *Older History of the Tang {Jiu Tang shu}*, attributed to Liu Xu; *Newer History of the Tang {Xin Tang shu}*, attributed to Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi. Both became sources for *Manzhou yuanliu kao* (see Appendix).

[10] Hongli is following the wording of his father, Yinzhen, in *Record of Great Righteousness Resolving Confusion* (*Dayi jueme lu*)—which Hongli ordered destroyed in 1736. *DJL*, 1.43a; *ECCP*, 749.

The Aisin Gioro, Hongli continues, were never servants of the empires that preceded them. On the contrary, it was in hopes of effecting good relations with the Manchus that the Ming offered the Qing founder Nurgaci the title of Dragon-Tiger General (*longhu jiangjun*); to please heaven and to protect the dynastic interests the Aisin Gioro had not scorned the honor. In due time Qing power had waxed to the point where the Ming felt insecure. This in turn created ill feelings toward the Manchus and a desire to defile their reputation. In fact it was the Aisin Gioro who were the injured party. The wrath of Nurgaci was provoked by the Seven Great Grievances, and it was to avenge them that the defeats were visited on the Ming armies in the early battles in Liaodong. The Ming sued for peace, but the Qing were not so easily placated.

Hongli explains the historical relationship of the Qing to the Ming dynasty as follows: Han Gaozu was a stalwart of the Qin; the Tang founders were exemplary nobles of the Sui; the Song were trusted officials of the Later Zhou; the Ming were the common people of the Yuan. In whatever way each had transformed the relationship with and succeeded the earlier dynasty, there was no cause for censure. In the present case, the Ming were the bandits, the fomenters of unrest. When the Ming order faltered, Wu Sangui (1612–78) welcomed Manchu princes and generals through the Shanhai Pass to restore peace and execute the rebels.[12] Now, the emperor adds, the dynasty has accomplished all the tasks and assumed all the symbols of a legitimate empire, conforming to the imperial standard even in

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[11] Hongli is evidently aware of but dismisses the disturbing effect that Mencius's phrase, "Shun was a man of the Eastern Yi {barbarians}; King Wen {of Zhou} was a man of the Western Yi {barbarians}," had had upon scholars over the millennia. Ho Ping-ti (1972) has called the classical passage "startlingly iconoclastic," indeed, "so iconoclastic that for ages it has baffled Chinese classical commentators."

[12] Wu was a son of the Liaodong militarist Wu Xiang. In 1644 he enlisted the aid of Dorgon in the attempt to drive Li Zicheng from Beijing and thus helped open the way to the Qing invasion of China proper. See *ECCP*, 877–80, and Hsi (1975).

the oral tales of the dynastic origin, which are reminiscent of those of the Shang and Zhou long before.[13] With their reception of the mandate of heaven by their military victories, the Qing have proven that they are of the same people as the dynastic Jin Jurchens. The Burgeli Pool of the Heavenly Maiden, mother of the first imperial ancestor,[14] is at Changbaishan in the region of the Amur. And on the connection between the Manchus and the Jurchen Jin, Hongli makes a final point. The Jin annals for the Mohe peoples of the Tang period include more than ten biographies of Bohai (Parhae, 713–926) kings, who for generations had a literary script and rituals. These literate Bohais were the ancestors of the Jin Jurchens. Now, the Qing script dated from the time that Nurgaci commanded Erdeni *baksi* to devise a means of written communication.[15] But in the early Jin there was already a script, which was lost in the subsequent dispersions of the Jurchens. It cannot be ascertained with present knowledge, Hongli allows, whether the Qing have successfully reconstructed that script. Like other issues related to the migrations of the Jurchens, the formation of the Manchus, and the disparities in local place names, the question must be subjected to rigorous documentary research and analysis, the results to be compiled within a volume that will be available to the world for innumerable generations (MYK, 1.2a).

Neither the temper nor the contents of Hongli's edict could have surprised his readers. True to the themes he had concentrated on in directing composition of the *Ode to Mukden* nearly forty years earlier, Hongli insisted on the elementary spiritual and cultural importance of Changbaishan for the Aisin Gioro clan and on the merging of Manchu identity with that of the imperial clan (Crossley 1985). It is probable that Changbaishan, which had long been recognized by many northeastern peoples as sacred, had not originally been part of the Aisin Gioro myth (Sun and Li 1983; Crossley

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[13] Without reference to Hongli's comments, Sun and Li (1983:3) discuss some similarities between the Qing foundation myth of Bukuri Yongson and the legends of Qi, founder of the Shang (later, Yin) dynasty, on the basis of sections of Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* {*Shiji*}, and the "Shi jun lan" section of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* {*Chunqiu*}. In brief, they note the roles of sacred birds, supernatural conception, and heroes with unknown fathers; see also Crossley (1985:20).

[14] That is, Fekulen, mother of Bukuri Yongson. See *MS*, 1.1–2b, and Crossley (1985:13).

[15] [Nara] Erdeni, d. 1623, one of Nurgaci's earliest companions, was literate and multilingual, for which qualities he was called *baksi* (*boshi*, "professor") by the ruler. He is credited by the early dynastic records with collaborating in adaptation of the Manchu script from that developed by the Mongols to write their own language. See *ECCP*, 223–24; *QSG*, 234.

1985); it was incorporated from the legends of other northeastern tribes, both for reasons of legitimacy by means of subsuming a major northeastern tradition under the Aisin Gioro clan aegis, and for reasons of strategy, since the myth claims Aisin Gioro ancestral rights in a territory very close to the developing Russian maritime region (Crossley 1985; Melikhov 1985). The casting of Manchu roots as early as the Sushens was characteristic of eighteenth-century onomastic emphasis; modern archaeology does not confirm the relationship between the Sushens and later northeastern peoples, although the formative power of the Qianlong works was such that modern scholars continue to list the Sushens as Manchu ancestors.[16] Hongli was also concerned that particular elements in Jurchen-Manchu history be given a prominent and final determination. For instance, he documented the cultural kinship of the Manchus with Korea—which had had an intimate but not amicable relationship with the fourteenth-century Jurchens and now stood first among the Qing tributaries—with a specially commissioned essay in the *Researches* ("Imperially Commissioned Clarification on the Three Hans {"Yuzhi sanhan dingmiao"}; *MYK*, 2.2a–b). The Manchu word for khan, *han*, evidently inspired Hongli and his aides to ascribe to the ancient Koreans a sociopolitical structure resembling that of the other confederated peoples of Northeast and Central Asia.[17] In pursuing the question of the local continuity of political tradition, Hongli raised the Bohais to central importance.[18] On the issue of the Bohai script, however, Hongli's speculations were too obviously connected with his unstated insistence on autochthonous literary development in the Northeast; there was in fact no relationship between Bohai, Kitan, or old Jurchen scripts, all derived from Chinese, and the later Mongolian-Manchu script that ultimately derived from a Syriac script via Central Asia.[19]

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[16] For examples, see Zhou (1980:1) and Yang (1980:39–47). The Sushens were possibly representatives of the paleoasiatic population that inhabited the Northeast before the Tunguzic migrations. See Wang (1981:129–30), Levin (1963:4–5), Miyake (1975:227–84), Tao (1981:8–11).

[17] He had possibly been informed that the term "khan" was known in the Korean peninsula from at least Tang times. *WDHY* (30.359), a source for *Manzhou yuanliu kao* (see Appendix), reports Koryŏ worship of a god called, in Chinese, *lingxing kehan.*

[18] The Bohais bequeathed to the political and cultural development of the Northeast a tradition of literacy, bureaucracy, and a tribal political organization utilizing a multi-capital system. See *XTS*, 219.6179–84; *JTS* 199b.5360–62; Toriyama (1915); Twitchett (1979:440–42) in addition to citations in the present text.

[19] The Jin Jurchens had used a "large character" script derived from the script of the Kitans, and a "small character" script introduced after 1145, both of which in turn derived from Chinese characters. The old writing system persisted into the fifteenth century and

Although Hongli and his aides considered such historical items authoritative, they also saw them as subordinate to the resolution of old and thorny issues in the dynastic lore. The meaning of the Seven Great Grievances had not been thrashed out. The grounds on which dynastic legitimacy rested were still negotiable. The status of the Later Jin state in relation to the Ming empire was still unresolved. The standing of the Aisin Gioro clan still depended on principles more implied than expressed. And by extension, the cultural and political worth of the Manchu predecessors in the Northeast still demanded assessment. It was understood that Hongli intended to resolve these questions by using methods derived from the evidential scholarship movement and the Four Treasuries project already in process. But if the methods of Manchu cultural documentation were topical and to a certain extent artificial, the central problems were in all aspects germane to the enduring problem of Qing ideology.

Conceptual Origins of the Manzhou yuanliu kao: *The Clans*

The central conceit of the *Researches* is that Manchu state and society were the culmination of millennia of political and cultural development in the Northeast, encompassing a spectrum of heritages from the earliest Sushen and Fuyu (Puyŏ) peoples to the medieval bureaucracies of the Bohais and the Jin Jurchens as well as the pristine, unsettled traditions of the "wild" Jurchens of Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. The precise evidence by which Manchu origins were to be ascertained was in the lines of descent from one people to another, moving through various regionally based "tribes" (*bu*) and "clans" (*zu*). With proper respect for the ambiguity of the inherited records, the *Researches* never clearly indicates the criteria distinguishing "tribes" (*bu*) from "clans" (*zu*).[20] In fact a large portion of the extracts deals with ancient and medieval "nations" (*guo*), which

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has been extensively studied. See Grube (1896); Kiyose (1977:21–22); Jin and Jin (1980: 26–27).

[20] Use of the translations "tribes" and "clans" here is heuristic; the true meanings, if there are such, of *bu* and *zu* in the northeastern context are outside the scope of this essay. Certainly, apart from *BMST* there was no significant effort on the part of Qing compilers to make the Chinese terms correspond to Manchu vocabulary related to social organization (*gurun, hala, mukūn, tatan, gargan*). For the *BMST, shi* and *zu* generally correspond as nearly as possible to *hala* (surname) and *mukūn* (clan, lineage) respectively. For Mongolian cognates, see Farquhar (1968:331–32); for discussions of the clan/tribe problem that combine anthropological insights with a historical context relevant to the present problem, see Fried (1975) and (1983).

does little to clarify the Qing writers' conclusions, if they reached any, on the characteristics of these early social-consanguineal-spiritual units.[21] In practice the *Researches* uses *bu* to indicate the regionally coherent, self-governing federations that flourished before the creation of formal bureaucratic states; *zu* are the lineage parties that functioned within the political structures that defined the principalities and dynastic entities which successively formed and decayed in the Northeast. Thus the Wanggiya (Wanyan) are a *bu* prior to and during Aguda's twelfth-century wars of unification among the Jurchens; after the creation of the Jin dynasty in 1115, the Wanyan (and all other Jurchen *bu*) become a *zu* or *shi* (*MYK*, 7.1a–3b; compare *JS*, 1.2; 73.1684; 86.1916; 88.1956; 91.2011). Though imprecise, the terminology of the *Researches* fits very well with the Qianlong view of the Manchu present and past. The various peoples of the Northeast are given a social history that mimics the social history of the Manchu clans, even to the point of inexorable demotion of their status from independent institutions of governance to working parts of a bureaucratized state.

If the patterns of Manchu life were to be found in northeastern history, it is not surprising that the clans should have been made the means of integration. Clans had been basic to social coherence and political federation in Northeast Asia since at least the tenth century and possibly from as early as the Tunguzic immigration in the last centuries B.C. They were the primary means of control, of social and spiritual coherence, of cultural exchange, and of economic management. The individual clans, however, did not always last long.[22] Documented clans of the Jurchen Jin dynasty were distorted and in many cases extinguished during the massive thirteenth-century migrations in the Northeast that followed the demise of the dynasty. The campaigns of Nurgaci to reunify a portion of the Jurchens in the late sixteenth century uncovered profound disarray in the historical clan nomenclature, with garbled clan names and a certain number of unaffiliated individuals (*BMST*, 3a–b). As he proceeded to establish the Later Jin state and the inchoate Banner system,[23] Nurgaci evidently determined that for purposes of registration the clan affiliations of his followers should be codified. His immediate object is clear enough, for the clans were the units on which a large portion of the *niru*, or Banner "companies," were based (Zhou 1982a). But under the pressure of impending war with the Ming, it was equally important that in building and propagandizing his new state Nurgaci should invoke repeatedly the twelfth-century dynastic heritage of the Jurchens. The clans were a ready link to that period, and now their order and their prestige were to be reinstated. Unaffiliated individuals were assigned clans. Clans in good working order and distinguished for their service to Nurgaci were given hereditary companies within the Manchu Banners.

The seventeenth-century efforts of Nurgaci to give the clans a meaningful social and political role was reflected in the eighteenth-century works giving them documentary status. The *Comprehensive Genealogies of the Eight-Banner Manchu Clans* (*Manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejehe bithe; Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu*; 1745) established the clans as the historical center of Manchu culture, at the same stroke providing direct access to that center for every Manchu individual. Clan identities and origins were clarified in such a way that no clan could claim parity with the Aisin Gioro, who were conspicuously absent from the compilation. The work was the cornerstone of the documentation of Manchu culture, and it established the clan as the foundation of both northeastern cultural continuity and Manchu identity in China. The *Comprehensive History of the Eight Banners*, in its second edition, followed the theme of clan preeminence established in the *Comprehensive Genealogies*. Unlike the first edition of 1739, the 1799 edition[24] had inserted into it a long collection of clan names with their subdivisions. This section, entitled "Clans" (*shizu*), addressed directly Nurgaci's meaning in establishing a clan affiliation for every Manchu, claiming that the major Manchu clans including the imperial Aisin Gioro were descended from the clans of the Jurchen Jin dynasty (*QBT*, 54: 1b–3a). The *Researches* was even more explicit, appending to its "Clans and Tribes" (*buzu*) chapters a list of Qing period clan names with glosses to their Jin dynasty counterparts as "Appended Citations on Lineage Names from the History of the {Jurchen} Jin" (*Fu Jinshi xingshi kao; MYK*, 7.5b–8b).

Formalization of clan status and affiliation was more advantageous to the court than it was to the clans themselves. By exposing the clans to bureaucratic management, documentation undermined their position as a key element in the traditional political system of corporate rule, a point well appreciated in the Yongzheng reign. Beginning with the general creation of written genealogies in Nurgaci's time, documentation was put to use in the effort to rein in the potential influence of the clans in political affairs. Particularly after the dissolution of the Oboi regency (Oxnam 1970) in 1651, the court's awareness of the dangers of clan and Banner coalitions contributed to the trend toward diminishing clan discretion in the control of designated Banner companies in the late Kangxi and Yongzheng years. By the middle eighteenth century, the clans were primarily symbols of Manchu identity and Qing origins. But that symbolic character in no way lessened the court's interest in controlling the images associated with the clans.

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[21] For example, in *Manzhou shilu*, the Chinese version of *Manju i yargiyan kooli*, *guo* ("nation") is used alternately to translate either *gurun* (nation, political federation) or *hala* (in these records, indicating clan, tribe, or surname).

[22] For a summary discussion of the early Manchu clans, see Crossley (1983a:74–137; Crossley forthcoming: Chap. 2).

[23] A general discussion of the Eight Banners (*jakūn gūsai, baqi*) would be out of place here. On early Qing political history see Roth {Li} (1975), Zhou (1980), Sun and Li (1983), Yan (1983) and Wakeman (1985). See also important studies on garrison life: Chai (1969) and Im (1981).

[24] Completed under the supervision of {Donggo} Tiebao, printed in 342 *juan* as *Qinding baqi tongzhi*. On Tiebao (1752–1824), see *ECCP*, 717–18.

Conceptual Origins of the Manzhou yuanliu kao: *The Heritages of the Northeast*

Determined to use the theme of continuous clan descent to trace Manchu origins deep into the history of the Northeast, the Qianlong emperor was left holding a two-edged sword. On the one side there was now every reason to emphasize the indigenous social and cultural institutions that had climaxed in the rise of the Manchus. It could be shown that Nurgaci and Hung Taiji had not merely imitated the Ming in their state building but had also advanced the traditions of the Bohais and the Jin Jurchens before them. On the other side, Qing ancestry among the uncivilized tribes and various "wild" peoples of the Northeast could not be denied. The Qing never attempted to deny such provenance. The *Researches* is explicit and thorough in its delineation of Manchu roots among the Sushen, Yilou, Wuji, and Mohe peoples, despite their unglamorous depictions in nearly all the sanctioned histories of Ming and former times.

Nevertheless the Court was not indifferent to the light in which such ancestors were cast. The imperial posture toward these peoples is demonstrated by a comparison of the *Researches* entries to those in the official histories. The *History of the {Northern} Wei {386–534}* (*Wei shu*) contained, for example, a rather long account of the Wujis, one of the Tunguzic peoples who were remote ancestors of the Manchus. They were described as the fiercest of the northeastern tribal peoples, dressed in dog skins, frequently drunk, accustomed to washing their faces with urine and to using the corpses of their parents to attract sables, whose pelts were a basic element in Wuji trade with the Chinese (*WS*, 100.5a–b). The Four Treasuries commissioners allowed the passage to be reproduced in the *History of the {Northern} Wei* without alteration; the *Researches* limits its discussion to the number of Wuji tribes, their locations, and a chronology of their appearances at imperial courts, with a reference to the Northern Wei history (*MYK*, 2.4a–5b). The Heishui Mohes of Tang times, from whom the Jurchens were evidently directly descended, were described in the *History of the Northern Dynasties* (*Beishi*) as an uncultured people of terrifying fierceness, possessing a poison for arrow tips so potent that "whatever is struck is dead where it stands" (*Beishi* 94; cited *MJ*, 6). The *Researches* citation from the *Northern Dynasties* discusses the historical association of the Heishui Mohes with the Sushen people (*MYK*, 5.1a). The drunkenness of the Jurchens was reported in Song period records to be unbroken; acquisition and consumption of the powerful *gaoliang* liquor for which the region was famous appeared to be a driving force in Jurchen culture (*MYK*, 18.4a; 4b–5a).[25] The physical conditions of their life could hardly have been cruder, and the people—in this account quarrelsome, avaricious, and often unconscious—could hardly have been more unpromising. Most but not all of the account appears in the *Researches* chapters on national customs (*guosu; MYK*, 18.4a; 4b–5a). True to their charge, the compilers of the *Researches* did indeed accord such peoples a place in Manchu origins, and although they did not go out of their way to emphasize grotesque details, it would hardly be accurate to say that they concealed the evident barbarism of the Qing ancestors. The Four Treasuries project had allowed the passages to survive virtually untouched, and the *Researches* reader might follow up on the source citations if elaboration were desired. For the pre-Jurchen peoples, the technique worked well enough.

The medieval Jurchens remained a complex problem, for they had been a varied group. Some dressed in skins and collected sable pelts for a living; others founded an enormous empire and wrested control of the Northeast and Northern China first from the Liao and then the Song dynasty. The origins of the Aisin Gioro clan and, by extension, of the early Manchus, could not be easily restricted to the imperial Jurchens. Aisin Gioro clan tradition traced their origins not to the Jin but to a tribal headman of the Yuan period (1280–1368); (Zhu 1932:23–24). Nurgaci, however, when consolidating his Later Jin state in the very early seventeenth century, had explicitly claimed to be the heir of the imperial mantle of the Jin Jurchens and, as will be discussed below, utilized the imagery of the Song-Jin period to reinforce his claim to a legitimate right to rule the Northeast. The clans he was uniting were, according to him, the clans of the imperial Jurchens, and he named his tribal state "Jin" in memory of its Jurchen antecedent. This theme of continuity was kept up only so long as it was politically useful by Nurgaci's eighth son and successor as khan of the Later Jin, Hung Taiji. In the reforms of 1635 and 1636 Hung Taiji, who had by then effectively destroyed the political structure created by his father, discarded the Jin name as well as the image. As the newly named Qing federation expanded to include more of the tribal peoples of the Northeast, Hung Taiji conjectured about the roots of the Aisin Gioro among the Warka and other tribal Jurchen peoples (Jiang 1981:138–39).

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[25] *XWT*, 327. The original is from *Record of the Northern Alliance* (*Beimeng lu*). Partially quoted in Serruys (1955:34).

The various traditions of Manchu and Aisin Gioro origins were not mutually exclusive, and it was not a requirement of the times that the Qianlong scholars reconcile the accounts. Despite the brief apostasy of Hung Taiji, the eighteenth-century court under Hongli remained intent on clarifying the formulation of its source of authority by requiring that the imperial legacy of the Jurchens and the ancient leadership of the Aisin Gioro clan among them be firmly established. Here the grievances against Ming documentation of the Jurchens were clear. Certain of the Ming annals had incorrectly identified Nurgaci's ancestor Möngke Temür (d. 1433—*DMB*, 1065–66; *QSG* 222.9116; Crossley 1983b, 1985; Zhou 1982b:231–32) or his ambassadors as "wild" Jurchens (*MMMS*, 30–49). More intolerable in Hongli's view was the Ming insistence on the status of the Jurchens under Möngke Temür as vassals of the Chinese court. The emperor's indignation at the blunders and libels of the Ming records rings throughout his charge to the editors of the *Researches*. His awareness of suggestions that the Ming College of Translators (*siyi guan*)—the major institution for organizing communications related to the Jurchens—had been one of the most laxly administered and poorly staffed sections of the Ming bureaucracy may have been at issue in the banning of a number of books based upon the materials produced there. Works on Jurchen affairs and the cultural history of the Northeast ordered banned or destroyed included *Researches on the Four Barbarians* (*Siyi kao*) by Ye Xiang-gao;[26] *Dispatches from Liaodong* (*Liaodong zouyi*) by Li Hualong;[27] *A Memoire on Barbarian Customs* (*Yi su ji*) by Xiao Daheng;[28] *An Annotated Narrative of the Eastern Barbarians* (*Dongyi kaolue*) by Mao Ruizheng writing under his pseudonym "Yu Gong";[29] *A Modest History of the Liao and Jin* (*Liao Jin xiao shi*) by Yang Dunji; *Researches on the Barbarians* (*Yi kao*) by the pseudonymous "Tianzhu yeren;" *Greater History of the Liao and Jin* (*Liao Jin da zhuan*) by Chen Xilian; *Researches on the Jurchens* (*Nuzhi kao*) by Shan Chen; and *A History of the Jurchens Under the Ming* (*Ming nuzhi shi*) by Li Shuxia. Qing curatorship of the Ming records was rather clearly imbued with the sense of an ascendant dynastic worldview eradicating the authority of its predecessor. Hongli was determined that evidential scholarship would rectify the political traditions of the Northeast and the place of the Qing at their apex.

Conceptual Origins of the Manzhou yuanliu kao: *The Right to Rule*

In his edict of 1777, Hongli was fleeting in his reference to the problem of Ming enfeoffment of the Qing founder, Nurgaci. But in his paradigm of dynastic succession, he addressed the issue of regional dominion, which had been a frequent matter of comment by Nurgaci and his son Hung Taiji. In the time before the conquest of China, the rulers of the Later Jin and early Qing states had insisted on their right to independent rule in the Northeast, claiming that the Ming had agreed to and later violated a treaty acknowledging Jurchen sovereignty, first in the region—loosely called "Nurgan" in the Chinese records—to the north and east of Liaodong and later in Liaodong proper. Later Jin and early Qing attempts to claim legitimacy in their domination of the Northeast had exposed a sharp clash in political values between Ming and Qing societies and were so central to early Qing propaganda that they became inseparable from later dynastic self-definition.

To the Qing court, the "Seven Great Grievances" to which Hongli referred in his edict was a portmanteau for the claims of Nurgaci against the Ming court, the ostensible reasons for the initiation of hostilities against the Ming by the later Jin khanate in 1618. By that time Nurgaci had successfully prosecuted the wars of unification among the Jurchen populations of the Northeast, had after a period of skirmishing with the eastern Mongols secured recognition as the territorial hegemon, and wrested from Ming officials an apparent promise to respect the integrity of the Jurchen world; finally on New Year's day (February 17), 1616, he announced the establishment of the Later Jin khanate, with himself as khan. From the time the grievances were first publicized by the Later Jin court in April of 1618 they made useful propaganda, and thereafter performed yeoman's work in the demands of the Later Jin for concessions, reparations, and mass ransom in the Liaodong wars. All the same they appear to have been sincere representations of some very intense feelings on the part of Nurgaci. The first and most often repeated of the charges concerned the demise of his father and grandfather at the hands of Ming troops, probably at the command of Li Chengliang (1526–1618; *ECCP*; 450–52 and Ch'en 1965:55–92). "My grandfather and father," Nurgaci's original complaint read, "had never trespassed upon one inch of Ming territory. But the Ming, with no justification whatsoever, violated our borders and killed my father and grandfather. That is my first complaint." The second complaint was that the Ming had failed to confine themselves to their proper sphere when they had attempted to intervene on the behalf of the Yehe Jurchens during the wars of Jurchen unification. The third was that the appointed ambassadors from the Later Jin court to the Ming stations in Guangning had been summarily executed, with their attendants. The fourth was that Ming agents had kidnapped the princess promised to Nurgaci as part of his alliance with the Yehe Jurchens and diverted her to their own Mongolian allies. The fifth was that Ming troops had expropriated the traditionally Jurchen grain-producing areas south of Liaodong. The sixth was that the Ming had persistently slandered the Later Jin to the Yehe in order to undermine the alliance between the two Jurchen groups. The seventh was that the Ming were now attempting (in the spring of 1618) to undermine the Jurchen alliance by promoting suspicion and hostilities among the various groups, particularly the Hada and Yehe (*MS*, 196–98). The charges in the deaths of the Aisin Gioro ancestors were not forgotten by their descendants at the Qianlong court in the eighteenth century; but their continuing importance lay in the fact that they, like all the Seven Great Grievances, had originally been cast in the matrix of the Later Jin right to rule the Northeast.

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[26] Ye (1567–1627) also wrote of the regional dialect of Liaodong in his *Remnant Scribblings* (*Yucao; juan* 14). All of his writings were banned by the *Siku quanshu* censors. See *DMB*, 1567–70.

[27] Li (1554–1612) was Ming governor of Liaodong from 1594–97 and was one of the "experts" on northeastern affairs under the late dynasty. See *DMB*, 822–26.

[28] Xiao (1532–1612) originally published this work as *Customs of the Northern Slaves* (*Beilu fengsu*), and though banned from circulation it was given a notice in the catalogue of the *Siku quanshu*. See *DMB*, 544–46.

[29] Mao (fl. 1597–1636) was one of the Ming writers most heavily censored by the Four Treasuries. See *DMB*, 1041–42.

In Jurchen political thought, as in that of the Mongols before them, military success was possible only for those who were naturally worthy.

Fulingga, or the transformation of thoughts into reality, was created in the later seventeenth century as the reign title of Nurgaci: *Abkai fulingga*, "heaven's intentions manifest," which in Chinese is rendered *Tianming*, "heaven's mandate."[30] As *fulin*, the word is the personal name of Hung Taiji's son, who reigned 1644–61 as the Shunzhi emperor. A sense of luck or natural superiority, rather than moral cultivation, is at its heart, and its influence may be reflected in many of the succession sagas of the dynasty.[31] On the strength of this tradition, Nurgaci had no need to justify his status in the Northeast, and even in Hongli's edict of 1777 it is clear that the successful conquest of Ming Liaodong continued after a century and a half to be taken as proof of Aisin Gioro favor by heaven. Nurgaci must nevertheless have been aware that by accepting the titular and economic conventions of the Ming "garrison" (*weisuo*) system (Serruys 1955; Yang, Yuan, and Fu 1981) in the Northeast he was playing the role of a vassal of the Chinese emperor (Zhou 1982b:237). The original articulation of the seven grievances was clearly motivated by Nurgaci's concern that the massive Jurchen federation he had joined together after more than twenty-five years of warfare and bargaining among the independent chiefs of the region was in some danger of cracking under the pressure of economic setbacks, agricultural sabotage by Ming raiders, and canny tactics of Chinese officials in exploiting lingering resentments among the eastern Jurchen confederations whom Nurgaci had forced into alliance. According to Nurgaci's claim, the Ming had seemed to grant some recognition to his political dominion in 1608, when they agreed to a Liaodong border treaty that forbade Chinese entry into Nurgan. The condition was intended to preserve the Jurchen monopoly on the regional products that commanded a high price in China and Korea; it was later incorporated into Qing policy toward the Northeast (Lee 1970:102).

Ming violation of the alleged Jurchen borders challenged the credibility of the new khanate. In step with his war effort in Liaodong, Nurgaci was ready to press his propaganda in terms that the Ming might find unanswerable. The Later Jin, he asserted, were the legitimate successors of the Jurchen Jin empire of the twelfth century. They were the same people, living in the same region, with the same language, same traditions, even the same clans. In his utterances he called the Ming "the Southern dynasty" (*nan chao*), an imitation of Jurchen Jin practice in referring to the Southern Song, whom the Jin had driven from northern China in 1127. Quite apart from the historical justification for his argument, the analogy served Nurgaci's ambitions well. As the Jin and the Southern Song had once divided China between themselves and coexisted (not peacefully), so the Later Jin and the Ming could divide the present Chinese territories, with the Ming presumably retreating from Liaodong and surrendering it to the jurisdiction of the Later Jin. Although hardly persuaded by Nurgaci's argument, the Ming proved sensitive to the images he had invoked. They did not deny the historical link of the Later Jin Jurchens to the imperial Jin Jurchens of the twelfth century; on the contrary they desecrated the Jin tombs at Fangshan, near Beijing, "to celebrate it."[32] It is also possible that Nurgaci's rhetoric intensified Ming suspicion of their border officers who acknowledged or were suspected of Jurchen ancestry, a distrust that turned to persecution after the Ming reverses beginning in 1616 in Liaodong, and in that flexible cultural world may have contributed to the desertion of some high-ranking Ming officers in the Northeast (Crossley 1983b).

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[30] See *QWJ*, 12.46, *fulibumbi, fuliburakū, fulingga*, ff. Farquhar (1968:202; 334) compares Mongolian *tengri-yin jayaghatu* and notes *Abkai fulingga* as a retronym for Nurgaci's reign period.

[31] Students of the late Joseph Fletcher are familiar with his interpretation of the philosophy and vocabulary of legitimacy in the political traditions of Central and Northern Asia. He outlined the workings of the steppe succession traditions in an unpublished 1978 paper, "Bloody Tanistry: Authority and Succession in the Ottoman, Indian Muslim, and Later Chinese Empires," which has been partially summarized in Wong (1985); and Fletcher (1980) himself briefly discussed the ideas in a different context.

With the Later Jin victories in Liaodong and establishment of the khan's capital at Mukden (Shenyang) in 1625, many of the immediate problems addressed by the Seven Great Grievances faded in significance. The propaganda value of the charges had not, however, diminished. Nurgaci died in 1626, and the *hosoi beile*, three of Nurgaci's sons and a nephew, were elected to rule the khanate in his stead. Shortly after their accession in February 1627, Hung Taiji, elected khan among the *beile*, repeated the grievances in a letter to Yuan Chonghuan (1584–1630),[33] emphasizing the repeated Ming violations of the border agreement of 1608. He further railed against the Ming refusal to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Later Jin: "The reason why our two nations have sent armies against one another was originally because the officials quartered in Liaodong and Guangning considered their emperor to be as high and mighty as heaven itself, while considering themselves like those who live in heaven; and the khan of another nation merely created by heaven was unworthy of any degree of independent standing. Not able to bear the insults and contempt, we have taken our case to heaven, raising troops and beginning war with you. Since heaven is in fact just and heeds not the magnitude of the nations but only the righteousness of the issue, it has considered us in the right" (*JMDY* {2564}: Manchu p. 2; Chinese p. 161).

During the Later Jin raid on Beijing in the summer of 1629—the only time he entered China proper—Hung Taiji traveled out to Fangshan and made sacrifice at the tombs of the Jin emperors Aguda and Yong.[34] But a few years later Hung Taiji had decided that the imagery was not useful and he denied not only any legitimacy he might draw from the Jurchen past but also any the Ming might draw from the Song. Without actually repudiating the historical links of the Later Jin to the twelfth-century Jin, Hung Taiji nevertheless declared such considerations to be superseded by a new "mind" (*mujilen, renxin*) peculiar to the present: "You Ming nobles and officials continue to see events in the mirror of the Song emperors and have no response at all to us. But you Ming emperors are not the scions of the Song emperors, and we are not the scions of the previous Jin emperors. That was one season, and this is another. This heavenly season {*abkai erin; tianshi*} and the mind of man have become completely distinct [from the past]."[35] This new mind was soon given symbolic manifestation in the renamed "Manchus" and the Qing dynasty itself.

The claiming of the Jin imperial heritage as a propaganda device by Nurgaci's court has been noted by such scholars of the early Qing as Robert Oxnam (1970:35) and Frederic Wakeman (1985:55–57, 205–9). Less attention has been given to cultural and historical corollaries of the propaganda, and this has perhaps obscured how slight a shift in emphasis was needed by Hung Taiji in order to put aside the inconvenient aspects of the imperial Jin motif. He did not deny the Jurchen past and all the historical resources it offered the Jurchen state formed under his father;

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[32] When the Qing armies invaded China in 1644, Dorgon sacked the Ming tombs north of Peking "to get even." See Mo (1958:75).

[33] Yuan was appointed to protect the Shanhai pass from invasion by Nurgaci's forces in 1623. See *ECCP*, 954–55.

[34] The emperors Taizu and Shizong of the Jurchen Jin dynasty respectively. Shizong (r. 1161–89), who mandated a major Jurchen cultural revival during his reign period, was supposed to have drawn special interest from Hung Taiji during the latter's reading of the *JS*. See Zhaolian, *Xiaoting zalu* 2; *QSG*, 3.55; Wakeman (1985:206–8).

[35] Quoted in another translation in Oxnam (1970:35) and partially quoted in Wang (1981:130). See also *JMDY* (vol. 2), *Tiancong chao*, 5:8 {3511}, Manchu text on p. 129, Chinese on p. 238. The revolutionary nature of Hung Taiji's utterance is underscored by its reference to *han i mujilen gūwaliyan darakū*, "The mind of the khan does not change," cited in Farquhar (1968:332).

he merely acclaimed the authority of a new "mind" over that of the past. For later emperors, the Jin-Song scenario continued as a rhetorical topic; in his youth, Hongli himself waxed passionate on the imperfections of the Southern Song emperors and the superiority of Emperor Shizong of the Jin (Kahn 1971:176–77). Nevertheless, neither Nurgaci's nor Hung Taiji's cultural propaganda was well suited to the requirements of the eighteenth century. The conviction that righteousness was manifest in the favor of heaven was no longer adequate justification, though it lay at the heart of the early Qing denunciations of Ming failure to recognize Jurchen dominion in the Northeast. The mature empire sought legitimation in a broader cultural history and political legacy. It should nevertheless be emphasized that while acknowledging the ethical burden of traditional Chinese political thought, Hongli was not moved to impose Confucian formulae on the Qing experience. He did not specify the precise nature of the Manchu relationship to the Ming, but insisted that the succession was fully within the bounds of China's previous dynastic patterns. He was careful to reiterate his ancestors' contention that the Manchus had never been subject to the Ming court. Qing justification lay in their relationship to the political and cultural traditions of their native world, the Northeast. To make explicit the roots of the Qing right to rule, the emperor's scholars were instructed to elucidate both the sophistication of the regional imperial legacy and the undeniable ties of the Aisin Gioro with the historical rulers of the region.

Qing Sources and Antecedents of the Manzhou yuanliu kao

The *Ode to Mukden* of 1743 was a fanciful variation on a theme that the Qianlong emperor took very seriously: the erection of a formal cultural edifice for the traditions of the Manchu people. In works apart from the *Ode*, the systematic treatment that was indispensable to transformation of the folk heritage was strongly in evidence. Hongli completed the process of the formalization of political life and continued earlier developments in the documentary process that had begun under his ancestors. It was Nurgaci who had urged the commission to writing of clan genealogies and who had formed his early Banners around documented clan units. Hung Taiji, the second Later Jin khan and first emperor of the Qing, had sponsored the translation into Manchu of the *History of the {Jurchen} Jin* (*Jin shi*) in addition to other histories and selections from the Chinese classics, a shrewd program that had reinforced the standing of the relatively new

Manchu script, had introduced into the language the necessary foreign terms and legitimation for the institutions of the emperorship, and had made the imperial legacy of the Jurchen people a matter of historical fact. The Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722) had encouraged the early documentation of Banner and clan traditions and had sponsored the creation of comprehensive Manchu-Chinese dictionaries as well as primers in Manchu orthography.

Before Hongli's time, there is little evidence that thought had been given at court to the creation of a body of literary works related to Manchu culture. The garrisons and their administration had been the starting point for the official documentation of Banner affairs. The Yongzheng emperor Yinzhen (r. 1722–35) commissioned the first bureaucratic compendium on Banner administration. His interest was quickened by a status dispute over command of "hereditary" Banner companies.[36] During the eighteenth century, disputes arose regarding rights over some companies, each litigant attempting to prove his claim by an account of his descent from the founding captain. Subsequently the court resolved that a genealogical project should be established to settle most of these claims; it incidentally was noted that "there are a good many materials relating to the early clans and this is an opportune time to publish them" (*BMST*, 1b). In 1727 Yinzhen ordered compilation of a history of the Eight Banners, and responsibility for the *Comprehensive History of the Eight Banners* (*Jakūn gūsai tongjy {i sucungga wailehe} bithe; Baqi tongzhi*)[37] was finally charged to [Silin Gioro] Ortai (1680–1745), confidant of the emperor whose protégés' rivalry with those of Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755—*ECCP*, 54–56; Guy 1986) laid the groundwork for much of the factionalism that pervaded the court during composition of the *Researches* and other compilatory projects of the era.[38] The work, published in 1739, was in method true to its origins, drawing upon and often excerpting the records of the Board of War (*bingbu*), the Board of Finance (*hubu*), and the Board of Works (*gongbu*), while its organization showed the stamp of the bureaucracy. A companion collection, *Regulations of the Eight Banners* (*Jakūn gūsai kooli hacin i bithe; Baqi zeli*), also begun under Ortai's supervision, was completed in 1746. The *Comprehensive Genealogies of the Clans and Lineages of the {Eight Banner} Manchus* (*Manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejehe bithe; Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu*; published in 1745, the year of Ortai's death) was not an institutional history but a transformation of tradition into instituted literature. Oral genealogies of more than six hundred Manchu, Manchu-Mongol, Mongol, Korean, and Chinese-martial (*nikan, hanjun*) clans were transcribed, given geographical locus, and grouped according to inferred descent from proto-clans of the twelfth century and after.[39]

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[36] Ch'en Wen-shih has called this class of *niru* Type A, since it was the original form of "company" serving Nurgaci before the creation of the Banners: "In the early years of the state the various tribal chiefs led their relatives, clansmen and tribesmen in submission, or they were conquered but still remained a unit; after they had been organized into a *niru*, they themselves or their clansmen were given control" (1965:35).

[37] Compiled under the "Office of General Documentation of the Eight Banners," (*jakūn gūsai uheri ejetun bithe*); see Fletcher (1973:141–46).

[38] See Ch'en 1968. Ortai was capable in both Manchu and Chinese. He spent most of his career in regional administration, and as governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou became famous for his *gaitu guiliu* pacification policies. See *ECCP*, 601–3; *QSG*, 288:10229–34; Smith 1968:10–15.

The production of new editions of the dynastic histories of the northeastern dynasties was an important corollary of the growing documentation of the Manchus. The two Ming editions of the *History of the Liao* (*Liao shi*), originally prepared with the *History of the {Jurchen} Jin* under the Mongols and published with it in 1345, were compared and corrected, resulting in a Qianlong edition that was included in the Four Treasuries (*LS*, 7; Wittfogel and Feng 1949:610; Chan 1981:60–67). The edition of the *History of the {Jurchen} Jin* (*Jin shi*) produced in the Yuan period was the basis for the Nanjing edition of the Ming; the Qianlong edition made few substantial changes but altered some personal names and added Manchu equivalents to the glossary section of the last *juan* (*JS*, 7; Chan 1970). The *History of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi*) was more substantively revised. Zhu Yuanzhang, the Hongwu (1368–98) emperor of the Ming, had first ordered a compilation of the Yuan history, drafted in 1370. The Nanjing edition survived into the early Qing period, but it was the Beijing edition, first printed in 1606, that eventually became the basis for the Qing text (*YS*, 1–4). In all these cases, the Qing brought their cultural perspective to bear upon the critical revision of the orthodox history of the northeastern and conquest dynasties. Solon (a Tunguzic language close to Manchu) was used to correct the *History of the Liao*,[40] Manchu was used to correct the *History of the {Jurchen} Jin*; Mongolian, with which the Qing had long been familiar and from which they had drawn their own script, was used to correct the transcriptions and glosses of the *History of the Yuan* (Yang {1929} 1974:51). The Qing reprinted the Bejing edition of the latter in 1739 and in 1824 would publish a much revised Yuan history. The same technique was employed in *Glossaries of the Dynastic Languages of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan Histories* (*Liao Jin Yuan san shi guoyu jie*), published in 1782.[41] A precedent for using the dynastic language to correct the linguistic portions of the Liao and Jin histories had been set by the Yuan, who may have had a similar interest in asserting cultural authority over the histories of these two dynasties (Chan 1981:86–87). But in the methods of textual study and comparative linguistics, the Qing revisions and glossaries represented an extension of the interest in "evidential research" of the eighteenth century, the staffs who produced them having been primarily bureaucrats educated at the academies where critical methods had become accepted in one form or another (Elman 1984:70–73, 122–29).

Manzhou yuanliu kao

After seven years of compilation, the *Researches on Manchu Origins* (*Manzhou yuanliu kao*) was completed in 1783 under the nominal supervision of [Janggiya] Agui (1717–97)[42] and Yu Minzhong (1714–80).[43] In 1777 Agui was fresh from his victory over the Jinquan rebels in western Sichuan. His assistant in the campaign, Yu Minzhong, was saved by the same success from the consequences of his implication in a bribery charge in

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[39] During the later Qing period, it was normal for every clan to keep a list of its members and ancestors. But there is little to indicate that such documents, in either Manchu or Chinese, were common before the eighteenth century; the preface to *BMST* (1a) states that most of the Manchu clans were without any sort of documentation.

[40] As a Tunguzic language, Solon would have been far from the language of the Kitans, which doubtless was much closer to Mongolian. The decision to use Solon to amend the *Liao shi* may have been to a degree arbitrary or may have been determined by folk association; a Qing tradition of the Solon Dolar clan, preserved in Fang Chao-ying's biography of Hailancha, claimed that the imperial Yelu clan of the Liao had been their ancestors. See *ECCP*, 273.

[41] The glossaries were originally compiled for inclusion in each of the new Qing editions of the histories and were later combined into a special lexicographical volume consisting of the *Glossary of the Dynastic Language of the Liao History* (*Liaoshi guoyu jie*) in 10 *juan*, the *Glossary of the Dynastic Language of the Jin History* (*Jinshi guoyu jie*) in 12 *juan*, and the *Glossary of the Dynastic Language of the Yuan History* (*Yuanshi guoyujie*) in 24 *juan*. See also Yang (1929:51) and Chan (1970:42–43).

[42] Agui had a rocky early career in the campaigns of the 1740s in Sichuan and in Xinjiang in the 1750s. Better military fortunes for the empire in the 1770s reflected well upon Agui, who had been active on many fronts, and brought him to Beijing for a series of illustrious appointments and titles. *ECCP*, 6–8; *QSG*, 317.10737–47.

[43] Yu was the optimus (*zhuangyuan*) of 1737. He spent the great majority of his career in the Beijing bureaucracy, and during the earlier Qianlong period was the emperor's aid and confidant. Charges of corruption, many well substantiated, marred his later years and his posthumous reputation. *ECCP*, 942–43; *QSG*, 319.10749–52.

Beijing and had been ennobled in addition to his other rewards. Both Agui and Yu held titular appointments that corresponded to their association with the *Researches*. Both were officials of the daily records office (*qijuzhu guan*), both were councillors (*xueshi*) of the Hanlin Academy's Documents Division (*zhuangyuan*), and both were superintendents of the Wenyuan Palace (*Wenyuan ge*) built in Beijing as a repository for the Four Treasuries volumes. The editorial staff included the grand councillors (*da xueshi*) {Niohuru} Heshen (1750–99—*ECCP*, 288–90; *QSG* 319.10752–58; Nivison 1959; Feng and Yang 1982), Wang Jie (1725–1805—*ECCP*, 137; *QSG* 340.11085–89; Nivison 1959:215) and Dong Gao (1740–1818—*ECCP*, 791–92; *QSG* 340.11089–91) in addition to Agui and Yu. Heshen was, at the age of twenty-eight, only at the beginning of his peculiar rise to power. Wang Jie, a man of relatively humble origins from Shaanxi, had been in the emperor's favor ever since Hongli had commanded his name to be put at the top of the *jinshi* list in 1761, displacing Zhao Yi; in 1777 he was Chinese president of the Board of Censors (*yushi*). Among the editors it was Dong Gao who was most nearly a bureaucratic compilatory expert. Less than a year earlier, he had been made assistant director-general of the Four Treasuries project and director of the offices of the Wuying Palace, where the "outline" of the Four Treasuries (*Siku quanshu huiyao*) was being written.

In the seven years of the compilation of the *Researches*, the position of members of the group changed radically, as the court sank deeper into terrifying factional strife. Yu Minzhong died of asthma in 1780 and his memory lay in disfavor, tainted by a posthumous verdict of blameworthiness passed by a commission investigating malfeasance scandals in Gansu, by the misconduct of a nephew, and by the execution of his younger brother Yu Yijian—a crony of Heshen—for corruption. Agui was often away from the capital and could not have been engaged with the actual compilation of the *Researches*; from 1781 to 1784 his attention was absorbed by the Muslim rebellions in Gansu. Heshen, too, had participated in these campaigns, but his contribution was such that it was thought best to keep him occupied at the capital. In 1780, the year he affianced his son to Hongli's favorite daughter, Heshen was appointed one of the directors of the Four Treasuries project. But as work on the *Researches* drew to a close, opposition to Heshen had begun to take concrete form, charges of corruption against his followers, including Yu Yijian, often resulting in convictions and sometimes in executions.

Political divisions and symbolic appointments were also in evidence among the junior staff of the project, which presumably included those who actually accomplished the bulk of the compilation. The selection process reflected the conventional policy of balancing Chinese against Bannermen. The two officials in charge of revision and correction were attached to the Hanlin Academy; Pingshu was Manchu, Dai Quting (1764–1810) Chinese (*QSG*, 341.11098–100). Below them were twelve compilers, of whom six were Chinese, four Manchu, and two Mongol. The two Mongols[44] were borrowed from the Court of Colonial Affairs (*lifanyuan*), where both were clerks (*bithesi, bitieshi*). The Manchus included an acting magistrate in Jiangxi, a secretary (*zhushi*) of the Board of Finances, a secretary of the Imperial Household Department, and a secretary of the Office of the Imperial Stud. The Chinese were an assistant department director (*yuanwailang*) of the Board of Finances; two compilers of the Hanlin Academy, a secretary of the Board of Finances, a Shaanxi provincial censor, and a provincial censor of Jiangxi. The last, Cao Xibao (1719–92—*ECCP*, 150; *QSG*, 322.10795; Nivison 1959:236–38), worked on both the Four Treasuries and the *Researches* on the recommendation of Agui, and later was instrumental in the attempt to discredit Heshen in 1786.

On one level the work was a scholar's gloss to the *Comprehensive Genealogies*. Like Ortai's staff, Agui's took the clans as their starting point, seeking out and arranging references to them in the official texts, then treating the historical geography of the Northeast in great detail, finally discussing customs and folklore. But unlike the *Comprehensive Genealogies*, the *Researches* owed nothing to folk or oral sources apart from those that long before had entered the imperial record; it was a systematic guide to the Manchu ancestors (or those believed to be so) in the official literature, reaching back to the Zhou dynasty. Archival research was spare, limited to the Ming annals of the Yongle reign (1403–24) and to one citation each from the annals of the reign period of Nurgaci (1616–26) and of Hung Taiji's Abkai sure (Tiancong) period (1627–35). The compilation of the Four Treasuries collection proceeded simultaneously with the work on the *Researches*, on *Rites for the Manchu Worship of the Spirits and of Heaven* (*Manzhou jishen jitian dianli*), and on the second, enlarged edition of the *General History of the Eight Banners* (*{Qinding} Baqi tongzhi*). Materials and citations were freely shared among the ongoing compilatory projects, and all the finished products were eventually categorized according to the conventional classification system used for the Four Treasuries—the

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[44] Qide and Bapenga (d. 1806). The latter was a member of the Mongol Plain Blue Banner and a reader in the Imperial Household promoted to magistrate of Guangxin *fu* in Jiangxi. Zhang 1977:235.

Researches (*Manzhou yuanliu kao*) and *Comprehensive Genealogies* (*Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu*) as "geography" (*dili lei*); the *Rites for Manchu Worship* and the *General History of the Eight Banners* as "works on governance" (*zhengshu lei*), all within the "History" section (*shi bu*).

The *Researches* and the *Genealogies* were classified as geographical works for the evident reason that Manchu clans, functioning here as the wellspring of Manchu history, had in both their spiritual and their social dimensions been linked to the land. The structure of the *Researches* reinforced the court's insistence that Manchu origins and the persisting key to Manchu identity lay in the Northeast. It was divided into four general sections, whose lengths were controlled to a great extent by the documentation created or neglected by earlier dynasties: "Clans and Tribes" (*buzu*) in seven *juan*; "Political Boundaries" (*jiangyu*) in eight *juan*; "Physical Geography" (*shanchuan*) in two *juan*; and "National Customs" (*guosu*) in five *juan*. The authors did not, in the end, offer a summary on the shape or meaning of Manchu history; such commentary besides being far outside the mandate of the *Researches*, would have been meaningless in the eighteenth century. In their introduction they claimed only that they had fulfilled the imperial charge to "use our dynasty as the schema (*gang*) for an examination and explanation (*xiangshu*) of the preceding dynasties" (*MYK*, 1b). They thereby acknowledged the organic relationship of the *Researches* to the general documentary enterprises connected to the Four Treasuries project, as well as the singularity of the *Researches* as the point of articulation between the trunk of the library and the branches represented by the Manchu and northeastern cultural documentation produced in the same period. Kent Guy's interpretation of the purpose of the Four Treasuries project as "evaluation of texts, collation of variant versions, rectification and verification of errors" (Elman 1984:16, from Guy 1981) captures well the technical aspects of the *Researches*. But in its conscious shaping of a formalized conception of the origins of Manchu culture and Qing legitimacy the *Researches* departs from this characterization.

Conclusion: Ideology

A system of ideas is brought together in the *Researches* that derives Qing historical legitimacy from their right to rule the Northeast, their right to rule the Northeast from the Manchu position in the region's cultural and political history, and the region's history from the genealogies of the peoples who had inhabited it. Within the context of Qianlong court policies directed toward the formalization of Manchu administrative, political, cultural, and spiritual life, the conclusion is nearly unavoidable that an eighteenth-century Qing concept of race and its applicability to the Manchus informed much of the charge to the compilers of the *Researches* as well as much of the content of the finished work. Evidence abounds that the Qianlong emperor, a great champion of his ancestral culture, fussed over reports that Manchus in China were losing that culture; certainly the racial policies of Hongli were markedly more rigid—and correspondingly more artificial—than those of his predecessors. This has often been construed as a result of anxiety on the part of the court that the security of the empire might be endangered by the acculturation of the Bannermen, or that the cultural integrity of the court itself might somehow be at risk. But the Qianlong concern with harmonizing race and culture may be seen in another light, as an attempt to force a comprehensive cultural structure upon the Qing polity, with the emperorship as its integrating center.

The importance of race may have been more evident to Hongli than to his ancestors. The matching of culture to race would not have appeared as a great issue to the Qing founder Nurgaci, who classified individuals on the basis of their culture primarily, nor to Xuanye the Kangxi emperor, who proved willing in those few political situations that merited it to move whole tribes from Mongolian to Manchu Banners (Wu and Zhao 1984) and whole lineages from Chinese-martial (*nikan, hanjun*) registration to Manchu (Crossley 1983b:22–23). Culturally the important distinctions of the early Qing period lay not between the Manchus and the Chinese-martial Bannermen but between the Bannermen of all origins and the conquered Chinese. By the early Qianlong reign these ideas seem to have changed. Long habitation in closed garrison communities had forged the Manchus into a people who clearly identified themselves in racial terms. At the same time, cultural distinctions between Manchus and Chinese in many regions had blurred. Problems had arisen as early as the later seventeenth century with Bannermen who could not ride and shoot, whose adoption of the Chinese language had left them both inarticulate and illiterate in Manchu, and who illegally left the confined economic life of the garrisons for the opportunities of China's cities. By the middle eighteenth century, these developments were gathering to a crisis. The Qing court had never exhorted the Bannermen to show impartiality in cultural matters; on the contrary, Hongli often expressed his abhorrence of the half-acculturated Bannerman, competent in neither his own traditions nor those of the Chinese and as a consequence disoriented, shallow, and ridiculous (Chu and Saywell 1984:51–52, from *QBT*, 78.5582). He was outspoken in his distress over the fact that Manchus were not manifesting "Manchuness" (*manjurarengge*) in their behavior. By this he meant, first and foremost, that fewer and fewer Manchus were able to conduct a court interview in good spoken Manchu.[45] Hongli was disappointed that Manchus did not understand that by losing their expertise with the spoken language they were losing access to the shamanic rites and to all the lineage and national cohesiveness that, in his view, depended on them *MJJD*, 1.1b–2a). The Qianlong emperor appears to have been concerned primarily with the cultural integrity of the Manchus and that, as with the other peoples of the empire, there should be orderly congruence of race to custom. Like the Mongolian empire before it, Qing society was an artifact of the process through which the regime had been forged. Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, the various gradations of acculturated and unacculturated Chinese from the Northeast, the central Chinese, the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, all had a relationship to the emperor informed by the historical role of their ancestors in the creation and development of the state. Coherence, for all the empire's peoples, was a prerequisite for an orderly relationship to the sovereign. Manchus no less than any other should be availed of a body of knowledge able to make obvious the virtues and visible the workings of their native culture. Indeed the power of traditional Manchu culture had been its ability to incorporate the social, economic, political, and spiritual lives of the people into a seamless natural order (Crossley 1983a:74–137). Now the emperor's works, for "innumerable generations," would allow a reformation of Banner education and culture. Hongli's notion of changing customs to make them consonant with a heritable racial identity would undoubtedly have seemed odd, if not subversive, to the dynastic founders Nurgaci and Hung Taiji, who had distinguished cultural identities within the early Banners on the basis of where and how an individual lived (Crossley 1983b). Hongli's sentiment, after all, implied a genealogical conception of race bearing a distinct resemblance to that of the later Ming, when ideas influencing the state's trial of Tong Bunian for Jurchen ancestry in 1622 (Crossley 1983b) were reflected in the works of Ming loyalist scholars such as Gu Yanwu (1613–82), Lü Liuliang (1629–83), and most particularly Wang Fuzhi (1619–92; Wiens 1969:7–15; Furth 1976:128–34; Black 1987).

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[45] There are many such pronouncements in the Qianlong records; for examples in Manchu, see the edicts dated Abkai wehiyehe {Qianlong} 26:10 (Oct.–Nov. 1761), in Meadows (1849:6–8).

It should be stressed here that the court, although a sponsor of Manchu cultural coherence, was by its nature not bound by the same principles. Never had the Qing court espoused the view that the emperor was the first Manchu among Manchus. The emperor was by conception the point at which all culture articulated, and his ability to sustain his people unified the imperial polity. The conceit was an ancient one that predated the emperorship and could be traced in Qing tradition to Nurgaci, who had styled himself the khan who "nurtures all the nations" (*geren gurun be ujire*).[46] Hongli was perhaps the most flamboyant of the emperors in his dramatization of the idea of the Qing emperor as an impartial ruler over peoples of diverse cultures. The monuments of the Qianlong period were profuse with multilingual inscriptions, not only in the Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese that had been incorporated into the imperial parlance in the seventeenth century but also in Tibetan and Uigur, the languages of the two peoples brought firmly under Qing authority in the Qianlong period, and in Sanskrit. The Qianlong fascination with emblems produced documentation whose value was far more imagistic than informative and thus has not been considered here. Two imposing examples are the *Five-Part Glossary of the Dynastic Standard* (*Wuti Qingwen jian*), in which Manchu vocabulary was glossed by Mongolian, Chinese, Uigur, and Tibetan, and the *Illustrated Record of the Tributaries of the Qing Empire* (*Huang Qing zhi gong tu*), completed in 1769 under the nominal direction of {Fuca} Fuheng (1722–70),[47] which provided detailed pictorial descriptions and short historical discussion of more than three hundred categories of nations from the tribal peoples of the Northeast to the newly arrived aliens from Europe.

The issue of racial and cultural coherence could not be limited to its importance to the Manchus or their relationship to the emperor; the integrity of the polity as a whole depended in part on redressing the Manchu cultural edifice. Although the Qing emperor might be a cipher of world cultures and a nurturer of the various peoples, there was no sense that he could reasonably govern a world in which these peoples and cultures were ambiguously identified or of undifferentiated statuses.

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[46] *ECCP*, 597; Farquhar (1968:334) corrects this part of the phrase as *geren gurun be ujikini.* I have not yet been able to ascertain whether both forms or only one can be attested.

[47] Like Ortai, Fuheng had distinguished himself in the suppression of rebellious minorities in the Southwest. In fact, at the time of publication of *Huang Qing zhi gong tu*, Fuheng was with the empire's forces in Burma, where he died. He was also nominal overseer of the first edition of the *Qingwen jian.* See *ECCP*, 252–53.

Disintegration of cultural categories would unravel the history by which the empire had been made and to which it still appealed for legitimacy. By the same token, social stability could not be divorced from the question of the political structure. It was for these reasons, which far surpassed Manchu partisanship, that Hongli determined that the criteria of Manchu identity were to be as carefully documented and controlled as the Banner administration had become. Indeed, there can be little doubt of the effectiveness of the works he sponsored in subordinating Manchu particularism to the general intentions of the state and bringing Manchu cultural matters under the permanent purview of the court. Nearly every aspect of the traditional role of the clans now fell within the domain of the imperial bureaucracy. The political dynamism of the clans had been systematically undermined since the early seventeenth century, and their social functions largely fused with the Banners. The livelihoods of the Bannermen were curtailed by the subsidies of the court after the establishment of the garrisons (*zhufang*) in the years following the initiation of the conquest of China. Now the imperial government also assumed authority over the genealogical and spiritual sectors, the last remaining traditional domains of the clans.

It was a corollary of the court's cultural requirements that Hongli labored as an interested protector of the histories of earlier alien dynasties. The immediate object of the documentary institutionalization program was not to bring science to Manchu origins, but authority. In the same way, the review and correction process to which the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories were subjected was as important for its demonstration of Qing sovereignty over the pasts of the northeastern peoples as it was for any marginal academic improvement that might have been wrought. In the court's view the Qing process had not, after all, begun in 1644 or even 1616; it had begun with the first attestable peoples of Northeast Asia and would continue for as long as genealogy continued.

Postscript: Regionalism

Before the Qing period the Northeast was a region only partially incorporated into the Chinese empires; under the Qing, attempts to preserve the cultural and economic independence of the Northeast were marked, and after the fall of the Qing the area quickly showed a tendency to spin once again out of Chinese control. In the later nineteenth century, romanticization of the Qing past and northeastern regionalist sentiment were linked, rather in the style of Hongli's *Ode to Mukden*. A growing private interest in the history and culture of the Northeast drew on the literary output of the Qianlong period. One of the earlier extant private works on Manchu culture, *Record of One-Hundred and Twenty Stories from an Old Man* (*Emu tanggū orin sakda i gisun sarkiyan*), was completed in Manchu by a Mongol, Sungyun, in 1791. In essence, Sungyun provided an afterword to the imperial works by soliciting oral commentary from elderly Manchus on the old ways of their people.[48] By the nineteenth century, travelogues and observations of cultural conditions in the Northeast enjoyed a certain vogue. Best known of these was Sayinge's *Unofficial Record of Jilin* (*Jilin waiji*), first printed in 1825. In 1894, as interest in the Northeast began to take on a political tinge, Sayinge's work was reprinted together with Xiqing's *Unofficial Record of Heilongjiang* (*Heilongjiang waiji*), Xu Zongliang's *The Story of Heilongjiang* (*Heilongjiang shulue*), and Wu Zhenchen's *Writings on Ningguta* (*Ningguta jilue*).[49]

In 1898 Tang Yin's *History of the Bohai Nation* (*Bohaiguo zhi*), the first freestanding history of the Bohai (Parhae) principality, was published. Tang was followed in the early twentieth century by writers such as Ding Qian (1843–1919), who attempted in the last Qing years to sort out the very early history of the northeastern peoples,[50] and Huang Weihan, who compiled the *Biographies of the Forebears of Heilongjiang* (*Heishui xianmin zhuan*), published in 1924, and *Annals of the Bohai Nation* (*Bohaiguo ji*) in 1935.[51] Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), whose oracle-bone studies are perhaps the best known of his scholarly works, was a partisan of Manchukuo (1932–45) who wrote extensively on northeastern history in the 1930s and ultimately combined his historical and political interests to produce a series of works on northeastern history and culture in cooperation with the Manchu-Japanese Cultural Coalition (Man Ri Wenhua Xiehui.[52] The regionalist tradition continued in the twentieth century with the work of Jin Yufu, who like his predecessors has linked the cultural history of the Northeast to the Bohais and to the Fuyu (Puyŏ) kingdom of northern Korea. It is also reflected in the work of modern Soviet scholars, who on the basis of their research on Bohai, Mohe, and Jurchen relics from the Soviet Maritime Province (Primorskii Krai) tend to argue for the local development of technological expertise, cultural institutions, and political traditions (Shavkunov 1968; Dunnell 1984:74–76; Allsen 1984:85–88).

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[48] The work was translated into Chinese by Fugiyun in 1809, and in 1982 was produced in photo-reprint by the Chinese Materials Center in Taipei from a manuscript in the possession of the Far Eastern Library at the University of Chicago. For discussions of the work, see Kanda 1982 and Fletcher 1973:142.

[49] See Wang 1981. Many of these pieces have been reprinted separately since then, and the whole collection was reprinted in Taipei in 1964. All have been introduced to Western readers by Robert H.G. Lee's extensive use of them (1970).

[50] Ding published nearly all his work in a single collection, *Zhejiang tushuguan congshu diyiji*, in 1915. It included detailed studies of the historical geography of the Northeast and of biographical information on the northeastern peoples in the dynastic histories.

[51] Huang was also the compiler of the "History of Hulan Prefecture {Heilongjiang Province}" (*Hulanfu zhi*) in 1915. The Bohai history was published the same year as another of his historical works: "The Development and Demise of the Chinese Communist Party" (*Zhongguo gongchandang zhi fazhan ji qi moluo*).

The debt owed by these later writers to the historical documentation produced during the Qianlong period was great. They depended first on these works as source materials, or at least source guides, for their studies. More important, they adopted the fundamental conceptualization of Northeast Asian cultural and political history as it was formulated and promulgated in the eighteenth century. The Bohai-Mohe-Jurchen paradigm in cultural and political developmental articulated in Hongli's charge to the *Researches* has endured as the central organizing principal of northeastern history in Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and (belatedly) Western scholarship. Indeed, our dependence upon the *Researches* and its contemporary works is so great that modern scholarship on the history of the Northeast may be said to have its foundation in them. The Qing extended their historiographic authority in unprecedented ways, sponsoring a new literature dealing with their national genesis in northeastern Asia. By doing so, they gave a unique literary aspect to their folkways[53] and nurtured a sense of origin in their Manchu subjects.

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[52] Luo was one of the group of Qing loyalists who worked in various ways to effect the restoration of the Qing dynasty and finally served, with Zheng Xiaoxu, at the top of the civil bureaucracy of the Manchukuo "puppet" state established in the Northeast in 1932 by Japanese militarists. On the debate over his archaeological and paleographical studies, see Bonner (1983–85).

[53] A great proportion of the Manchu folk tradition did not relate directly to historical or political issues and so was of little interest to the court of the eighteenth century. For example, it was not until the early twentieth century that anthropologists attempted a systematic recording of the folk epic known as "Tale of the Nisan Shamaness." See Nowak and Durrant 1977; Chuang 1977; Ubingga et al. 1982–83.

Appendix

Sources for the Manzhou yuanliu kao

Conventional sources included in the *Siku quanshu* and their classifications

Title		*Classification*
[San chao] Bei meng huibian	三朝北盟會編	史部編年類
Beishi	北史	史部正史類
Da Jin guo zhi	大金國志	史部別史類
Da Qing yitong zhu	大清一統志	史部地理類
Hou Han shu	後漢書	史部正史類
Huainan zi	淮南子	子部雜家類
Jin shi	金史	史部正史類
Jin shu	金書	史部正史類
Jiu Tang shu	舊唐書	史部正史類
Jiu Wudai shi	舊五代史	史部正史類
Kaiguo fanglue	開國方畧	史部編年類
Liang shu	梁書	史部正史類
Liao shi	遼史	史部正史類
Lunyu [zhengyi]	論語正議	經部四書類
Ming huidian	明會典	史部政書類
[Da] Ming yitong zhi	大明一統志	史部地理類
Nan shi	南史	史部正史類
	契丹國志	史部別史類
	三國志	史部正史類
Shang shu [zhengyi]	尚書正議	經部書類
Shengjing tongzhi	盛京通志	史部地理類
Shiji	史記	史部正史類
Songmo jiwen	送漠紀聞	史部政書類
Song shi	宋史	史部正史類
Song shu	宋書	史部正史類
Sui shu	隋書	史部正史類
Taiping huanyu ji	太平寰宇記	史部地理類
Tang huiyao	唐會要	史部政書類
[Zizhi] tongjian	資治通鑑	史部編年類
Tong zhi	通志	史部別史類
Wei shu	魏書	史部政書類
Wudai huiyao	五代會要	史部政書類

Xin Tang shu	新唐書	史部正史類
Xin Wudai shi	新五代史	史部正史類
Yuan shi	元史	史部正史類
Zhou shu	周書	史部正史類

Specially-commissioned *Siku quanshu* works on Manchu history and culture

Title		*Classification*
Manzhou jishen jitian dianli	滿洲祭神祭天典禮	史部政書類
Baqi tongzhi	八旗通史	史部政書類
Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu	八旗滿洲氏族通譜	史部地理類

Source not included in the *Siku quanshu*

Bei meng lu	北盟錄
Cefu yuangui	冊府元龜
Chen shu	陳書
[Da] Yuan yitong zhi	大元一統志
Gaoli zai ji	高麗載紀
Gaoli tujing	高麗圖經
Kuo di zhi	濶地志
Liang shi	梁史
Liao zhi	遼志
Ming tongji	明通紀
Qian Qin lu	前秦錄
[Yushi] Songhuajiang shi	御製松花江史
Sui shi	隋史
Taiping yulan	太平御覽
Tang Jia Dan daoli ji	唐賈耽道里紀
Xu Kang zong feng bian xing chenglu	許亢宗奉便行程錄
Yajiang xingbu zhi	鴨江行部誌

Archival materials

Ming shilu: Yongle	明實錄永樂
Taizu gaohuangdi shilu	太祖高皇帝實錄
Tiancong chao shilu	天聰朝實錄

List of References

Abbreviated References

BMST	*Baqi manzhou shizu tongpu* {Comprehensive genealogies of the Eight Banner Manchu clans}. 1745. Ed. Ortai et al.
BT	*Baqi tongzhi* {General history of the Eight Banners}. 1739. Ed. Ortai et al.
DJL	*Dayi juemi lu* {Record of great righteousness resolving confusion}. {1730 Aisin Gioro Yinzhen} 1966. Taipei: Wenhai.
DMB	*Dictionary of Ming Biography*. 1976. Ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang. New York: Columbia University Press.
ECCP	*Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period.* 1943. Ed. Arthur Hummel. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
JMDY	*Jiu manzhou dang yizhu: Tiancong chao* {Annotated translations from the old-style Manchu archives: Tiancong reign}. 1977. Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan.
JS	*Jin shi* {History of the Jurchen Jin}. {1344. Ed. Toghto et al.} 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
JTS	*Jiu Tang shu* {Earlier history of the Tang}. {Ed. Liu Xu 887–946} 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
LS	*Liao shi* {History of the Liao}. {1345. Ed. Toghto et al.} 1974. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
MJ	*Manzu jianshi* {Brief history of the Manchus}. 1977. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
MJJD	{*Qinding*} *Manzhou jishen jitian dianli* {Manchu ceremonies for the worship of the spirits and of heaven}. {1780. Ed. Agui et al.} 1966. Taipei: Wenhai.
MMMS	*Mindai Man-Mo shiryō—Manshū hen* {Ming-dynasty documents on Manchuria and Mongolia—Manchurian volume}. 1954. Kyoto.
MS	{*Da Qing*} *Manzhou shilu* {The Manchu veritable records}. {1734–40} 1978. Taipei: Xinwenfeng.
MYK	{*Qinding*} *Manzhou yuanliu kao* {Researches on Manchu origins}. {1783. Ed. Yu Minzhong et al.} 1966. Taipei: Wenhai.
QBT	{*Qinding*} *Baqi tongzhi* {General history of the Eight Banners}. {1739. Ed. Tiebao et al.} 1968. Taipei: Xuesheng.
QSG	*Qingshi gao* {Draft history of the Qing}. {1928. Ed. Zhao Erxun et al.} 1977. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
QWJ	*Qingwen jian* {Glossary of standard Manchu}. 1898. Zhikuan et al.
WDHY	*Wudai huiyao* {Selected statutes of the Five Dynasties}. {961. Ed. Wang Pu} 1978. Shanghai: Guji.
WS	*Wei shu* {History of the Northern Wei}. 1937. Peiping: Sibu Beiyao.
XTS	*Xin Tang shu* {Later history of the Tang}. {n.d. Ed Ouyang Ziu and Song Qi} 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
XWT	*Xu wenxian tongkao* {Literary encyclopedia, continued}. 1936. Shanghai: Shangwu.
YS	*Yuan shi* {History of the Yuan}. {1370. Ed. Song Lian et al.} 1976. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

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Source: Elliott, Mark C., 'Ethnicity in the Qing eight banners', in Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, Donald S. Sutton (eds), *Empire at the margins: Culture, ethnicity, and frontier in early modern China*, 2006, University of California Press, pp. 27–57.

ETHNICITY IN THE QING EIGHT BANNERS

Mark C. Elliott

There is nothing like being an imperial people to make a population conscious of its collective existence as such.[1]

Very early in 1737, a strange request came to the attention of the Qianlong emperor, then twenty-five years old and barely twelve months into his sixty-year reign. The request was in a palace memorial submitted by Arsai, a member of the Hanjun Plain Yellow Banner and commander of the Eight Banner garrison at the southeast coastal city of Fuzhou.[2] Arsai, it seems, wanted to change his name.

He prefaced his appeal by reminding the emperor of an exchange between them during an imperial audience not long before:

> *The Emperor*: You are a Hanjun. Why do you have a Manchu name?
>
> *Arsai*: My original name was Cui Zhilu. Since the time I was small, I have studied the Qing language [i.e., Manchu], and so I took a Manchu name.

Some time after this meeting, an edict arrived from the emperor, which, though on a different maller, sent Arsai into a complete panic: "Kneeling to receive the sacred edict your servant was numb. Suddenly I reflected and trembled with fear such that I could not calm myself. I humbly beg the Celestial Grace for permission to change my name back to Cui Zhilu." The emperor, in his rescript, was mystified: "All I did was casually ask you about your name. Why should you be blamed for taking a Manchu name?"

This exchange, preserved today in the Qing archives,[3] is curious for a couple of reasons. Consider first the reaction of the Hanjun bannerman, Cui Zhilu, a.k.a. Arsai. The way he tells the story, Cui was filled with trepidation at receiving the Qianlong emperor's edict, apparently afraid that the emperor was about to censure him for having taken a Manchu name—the inference being that in assuming the name Arsai, Cui had transgressed some boundary or, at least, feared he had. Cui's apprehension on this account suggests the existence of a prevailing expectation according to which Manchus were to have Manchu names, Mongols Mongol names, and Hanjun Chinese names. More puzzling is the emperor's apparent indifference to Cui Zhilu's name switch.[4] The absence of an imperial reprimand implies that, as far as the throne was concerned, for a Hanjun to go by an assumed Manchu name was no great crime. Yet from other evidence we know that the Qianlong emperor did not accept with such equanimity the use of Chinese-sounding names by Manchus, striving, on the contrary, to outlaw the practice.[5] Were certain standards applied to one group and not the other? If so, why? What significance was attached to these names, anyway?

These are not questions we can easily answer at the present.[6] But for now the terms of Cui's exchange with the emperor would seem to permit two conclusions. One, fairly unproblematic, is that it was common in the mid-1700s to categorize people according to the principal divisions within the Eight Banners, that is, as being either Manchu, Mongol, or Hanjun. The second, more involved, is that these divisions were not simply official designations, but labels that the members of those groups themselves understood to connote normative differences, such as language and naming practices. Having the status of a Manchu, in other words, was more than simply a legal identity (though it was, to be sure, a legal identity, too): it implied the existence—and, at least as important, a belief in the existence—of certain types of "Manchu" practice, "Manchu" behavior, and even "Manchu" character, which ideally were understood to differ from the practices, behavior, and character of Mongols and Hanjun, not to mention that of Han Chinese, who were not even in the Eight Banners.

Of course, as Cui Zhilu's name change proves, these identities were somewhat (though, as we shall see, not infinitely) malleable and in practice impossible to completely police. The reason he gave for becoming "Arsai"—that he had learned the Manchu language—suggests Cui's internalization of a predictive, if not infallible, logic of normative identity that went something like this: all Manchus should speak the Manchu language; hence Manchus all *do* speak (he Manchu language; therefore all speakers of Manchu are Manchu. According to this logic, since he spoke Manchu, he was entitled, as it were, to the name Arsai. This may have been meant to lead others who were not aware of his actual Hanjun status into believing that he was, in fact, Manchu—suggesting that the case of Cui Zhilu is about more than just naming. Indeed, Cui's actions and attitudes raise a number of questions regarding the operation of categories of identity in the Eight Banners, questions that form the subject of the present essay: How should we understand such categories as "Manchu," "Mongol," and "Hanjun"? How did they change over time? How did they come to be constituted in the first place? Did they signify modes of identity we might understand as "ethnic"? What, if anything, does it profit us to interpret them this way?

The answers to these questions matter as much for what they reveal about ethnicity in late imperial China as well as for what they reveal about the role of the Eight Banners in the Qing imperial enterprise. Not that these are entirely separate issues. For while many aspects of the history of the banners remain imperfectly understood, we may be sure of one thing: the importance of the Eight Banners was not limited to what they represented in terms of military force. In administering for over three centuries the coalition of various northern frontier populations that brought off the Qing conquest in 1644, the banners played a central part both in constructing Qing identities and in maintaining Qing power into the twentieth century.[7] For this reason, it is useful to begin with a short description of what the banners were.

The Eight Banners

The Eight Banners (Chinese, *baqi*; Manchu, *jakūn gūsa*)[8] was the name given to the military elite of the Qing state, led by the Manchus, that conquered China in 1644, and which continued to wage war on behalf of the court for another two hundred years after that. But the Eight Banners was more than just an army; it was also a social formation and a political structure. In fact, the Eight Banners was a hybrid institution in just about every sense. Along with its key military role, it discharged a range of governmental, administrative, economic, and social functions, and encompassed people of many different backgrounds within its ranks: Manchus (originally called Jurchens),[9] Mongols, Chinese, and Koreans; free and unfree households; soldiers and farmers, wives and slaves, children and old folks, the healthy and the infirm. All these together were "banner people" (*qiren, gūsai niyalma*). Membership in the banners was passed along from generation to generation through the patriline, though it could be acquired also through marriage (women from outside the banners who married in, usually as concubines, became banner women) and adoption (though banner families were strongly encouraged to adopt children of other banner families). Rather than regard the Eight Banners as just an army, then, it makes sense to think of it as a suborder of society defined primarily, but not exclusively, by an inherited duty to furnish professional soldiers of unimpeachable devotion to the dynasty, which in exchange supported the entire population registered in banners both materially and morally, with money, food, and housing, along with privileged access to power, for their entire lives.

The details of the early development of the banner system remain unclear. The scholarly consensus is that the foundations of the banners lay in the large-scale hunts that doubled as military drill in early Jurchen society, and which had earlier served as the template for the similar *meng-an mou-ke* system under the Jin dynasty five hundred years before. Such hunts relied upon individual discipline and courage as well as on precise coordination of the small contingents into which men were organized. Known as "arrows" (Manchu *niru*, from the tokens held by the leader of each contingent), these groups became the model for the building blocks of a powerful new military organization established by Nurhaci (Qing Taizu, 1559–1626), the man who started the Manchus on their way to Beijing. Nurhaci's blueprint called for soldiers to be formed into permanent arrows of three hundred men each, with warriors and their households alike registered as members of the arrow (usually translated as "company"). Companies were in turn grouped together into larger units. A *jalan*, or regiment, consisted of about fifteen companies, and four *jalan* (sixty companies, or in principle 18,000 soldiers and their families) made up one *gūsa*. Although the Manchu word *gūsa* referred only to a military unit, not to its flag, because each *gūsa* was distinguished by the color of its flag, it came to be identified in Chinese, and later in English and other European languages, as a "banner."

The best guess is that the first companies and banners were organized at some point between 1601 and 1607 (possibly earlier), at which time there were only four *gūsa*, which carried yellow, red, blue, and white standards. Strictly speaking, the foundation of a system of eight banners occurred only in 1615, when the four *gūsa* were doubled in number by adding a red border to their flags (red flags had white borders attached). By the time of Nurhaci's death in 1626, the Eight Banners had achieved a certain level of institutional stability, and they continued to expand steadily under his son and successor, Hong Taiji (Qing Taizong, 1592–1643). On the eve of the conquest in 1644, the Eight Banners claimed an estimated total population in the vicinity of two million people, organized into some 563 companies.[10]

From the outset, the company was more than simply a military squad. It look responsibility for all functions essential to the maintenance of a professional military service, including the support of dependents (women, children, parents, and servants) and of sick, disabled, and elderly combatants. It retained these functions—which included supervising military drill, mustering soldiers for campaigns, distributing pay and grain, allocating housing, registering births, marriages, and deaths, enforcing restrictions on employment, residence, and entertainment, paying out pensions, and arranging burials—until the end of the dynasty. Since, in contrast to the old hunt-specific *niru*, the company was a permanent unit, significant authority accrued to the company captain, who held what was in most cases a hereditary position. He was charged with selecting and training soldiers, as well as with overseeing the general well-being of everyone in the company. Even more power was in the hands of the banner commanders, who included in their number some of the most powerful men around the emperor, so that for the first century of its existence the Eight Banners was thoroughly embedded into the Qing political structure—a little too embedded for the tastes of the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–35), who instituted a number of changes to ensure that the banners could no longer serve as a power base for any who might try to challenge the emperor's authority.

As mentioned, one of the strengths of the banner system was that it provided the framework for maintaining all of society on a permanent wartime footing. At least as important, it also enabled the state to expand its military might without sacrificing anything in the way of mobilizational efficiency. The Eight Banners was like an umbrella that just kept getting bigger and bigger, accommodating all comers and seeing to their integration into the military, political, and social fiber of the emergent Jurchen state. This integration was "smooth" not only in the sense that an ever greater number of people could be readily added, but also in the sense that the addition of new groups occurred without, so far as we know, creating major internal conflicts. In great measure this was due to the reliance on the company as the basic unit of organization. Because it was relatively small in size, the company lent itself to the flexible incorporation of new adherents, creating enough smaller spaces within the banners for the easy conservation of certain advantageous group formations or for the strategic reshuffling of inimical ones. This quality suited the leadership's general approach, which held that separation, and sometimes even segregation, of different groups was advisable to avoid conflict—the wisdom of which was confirmed after a disastrous mid-1620s experiment in Jurchen-Han joint residence that ended in revolt.[11] We may say, then, that one of the most notable features of the early development of the banner system was its increasingly complex hierarchy, with particular niches being found for all kinds of different people.

Differences between people were construed in various ways: on the basis of wealth or family status, on the basis of political loyalty or mode of alliance, or according to military ability or function. From these different kinds of discrimination arose various kinds of hierarchies, which, for reasons of space, will not be described here in detail. One fundamental hierarchy, however, depended on readings of ethnicity, and on this basis, I would argue, the divisions of Manchu, Mongol, and Hanjun arose. But before taking up this subject, I want first to address the doubts of the hesitant reader who is asking, "*What* ethnicity? Was there any such thing in the early seventeenth century?" How one responds to this question depends on how one chooses to define ethnicity and on what conditions one sets before admitting the existence of an ethnic discourse, however defined. Some of these issues have already been raised in the introduction to this volume but deserve further elaboration here.

Concepts of Ethnicity

Truly, few terms have come so quickly to enjoy so wide a currency in recent scholarly discourse as have *ethnicity* and *ethnic identity*. Notions of belonging and exclusivity that were once the preserve of ethnographers and sociologists have become part of a broad academic and popular debate over constructions of difference that has tremendous demographic and political ramifications inside and outside the academy. In fact, with nearly everything seemingly subject to dissection along ethnic lines, some might feel that the meaning of the word has been stretched to the breaking point. Understandably, this has led some scholars to question the usefulness of identity as an analytic concept at all.[12] Though such cautions are salutary, I believe that attention to affective modes of social organization is nonetheless an important part of a wider response to perceived inadequacies of both modernization theory and Marxist theory, as well as to a post-1989 world order in which the supposedly universal ideology of the nation no longer appears so persuasive or natural. In fact, it may be that constructions of ethnicity have been far more important in the making of nations than most scholars have previously thought—a point to which I will return in the conclusion to this essay.

One thing that recent work on ethnicity makes amply clear is that one must define one's terms scrupulously, for there are many different ideas of ethnicity in current use.[13] One of the most common notions holds that ethnic identity typically arises on the margins of the modern nation state, that it is born out of the disenchantment with or alienation from the national (often, formerly imperial) center felt by those on the periphery. Ethnicity, by this approach, is a characteristic of the oppressed and disenfranchised, a collective sentiment that emerges only in the modern context, whereby minority peoples are consciously organized according to categories of putatively common culture and descent, usually (and sometimes expressly) for political ends. Since the majority population in a state cannot, by this definition, itself possess an ethnic identity, one might call this "ethnic food" ethnicity, in reference to the term once used to describe any of a number of cuisines "Italian," "Chinese," "Greek," "Mexican"—of non-Anglo minorities in the United States.

If this is the definition of ethnicity we wish to use, then it is difficult to argue for Manchu ethnicity at any point during the Qing period because the Manchus were the ruling, privileged elite until 1912 and were hardly peripheral or disenfranchised (though many became impoverished). To the extent that Manchus in the provincial garrisons around China became estranged from the imperial court after the Taiping Rebellion, one might be able to say that at least *some* Manchus did come to know an "ethnic" consciousness in the later nineteenth century.[14] Otherwise, we cannot claim that the Manchus became an ethnic group until after 1912, when they were honored with citizenship and minority status in the new Han Chinese-led Republic of China.[15]

Even though it dominates most studies of ethnicity in China, I find the "ethnic food" approach singularly unhelpful in untangling problems of identity in the Qing or earlier periods. Models based on this approach that are intended specifically to describe the formation of ethnicity in China work well enough for what Stevan Harrell calls the "peripheral peoples" of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries,[16] but they work much less well for anything before this—that is, for most of history.

Harrell's model sensibly posits the central authority of the Chinese state (though he allows there may sometimes be other outside agents, such as missionaries), which aims first to classify and then "culturally transform" (Ch *wenhua*) non-Han peoples, mainly in the frontier regions. The consequent development of an ethnic consciousness is said to be an "almost inevitable result" of their inclusion in the so-called Confucian civilizing project.[17] The main limitations of this model, it seems to me, are two. First, it is widely recognized that cultural transformation was a preoccupation of the state in China for at least two and a half millennia and hardly emerged as a novel idea in the twentieth century, even if the problems it posed looked different to the twentieth-century state.[18] If being joined in some fashion to a civilizing project of the imperial center is what produces ethnicity, then it would seem that ethnicity in China is not a modern phenomenon at all, but one with deep historical roots (which newer scholarship on the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming is beginning to bear out).[19] The notion that people become aware of "who they are" only in the modern era, with the encroachment of a powerful, omniscient, ordering state, strikes me as giving far too much credit to the totalizing narratives that have been built up around the conceit of the "modern" constitution, so effectively critiqued by Bruno Latour.[20]

Second, there is the problem that from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth century the civilizing center—namely, the Manchu-led Qing court—was itself "Other" and not Chinese at all. If recent scholarship is correct to insist that the Manchuness of the Manchus was not irrelevant, we need to stop to consider what motivated the "Confucian civilizing project" in the Qing. Indeed, it does not seem that the "Confucian Man's Burden" advanced by Harrell applied universally under the Manchus. As demonstrated in the chapters that follow, the Qing civilizing center, though at times very "Chinese" in its preoccupation with acculturating peoples in certain parts of the empire, was not consistent in this regard. Unlike, say, the Yao, Miao, Yi, or Zhuang, peoples such as the Mongols, Tibetans, and Turks—not to mention the Manchus themselves—were not on the menu for civilization. They were to remain "raw," or at least "rare." This in turn points to a third problem: Must we insist on ethnicity as a product of alienation and marginalization? If so (and even if not), how do we explain the development of ethnicity among the Manchus, who possessed as keen a sense of their own identity as those who were made the object of forced acculturation? This question is related to the issue of Han Chinese identity, given that who and what the "Chinese" were was by no means any more transparent in the sixteenth or eighteenth century than it was in the twentieth. Did Han share an ethnic identity? If so, how was it produced?

It seems then that, while they may work well enough for the twentieth century, definitions of ethnicity that emphasize subordination in a modern context leave out rather a lot. For the scholar interested in exploring what Homi Bhabha calls the "dialectics of recognition" (or the negotiation of strangeness) in a historical context,[21] a different approach is required. For China in particular, one cannot help but wonder whether other processes of identity-making than those predicted by the "ethnic food" model were at work. Was participation in the imperial project, with or without the hegemonic objective of cultural transformation, sufficient to encourage the development of ethnic identity? What were the terms of that participation?

The definition of ethnicity adopted here better allows us to get at such questions. It interprets ethnicity more broadly as the social organization and political assertion of difference that is perceived to inhere in culturally bounded descent-based categories. These categories are understood to be historically dependent—in notable contrast to their understanding by members of the ethnos, who typically perceive them (or at any rate are encouraged to perceive them) as essential and primordial. This view of ethnicity derives mainly from the writings of anthropologists who, beginning around 1970, questioned the popular "melting pot" analogy of ethnic interaction, which held that it inevitably brought about assimilation. Studies showing that the melting pot was largely a myth,[22] together with the perceived persistence of "identity systems" among such peoples as Jews and Basques,[23] confirmed the need to come up with better ways of conceptualizing ethnic interaction. In a pioneering article, Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth described ethnic identity not as an objective, static, "primordial" *condition* but as a subjective *process* of organizing and signifying identity that could happen anywhere. Furthermore, Barth rejected the long-held notion that contact with a dominant culture necessarily led to the assimilation and incorporation of the minority "ethnic," insisting instead that ethnic formation was in fact the product of just such contact and opposition.[24]

This reconceptualization problematized and complicated the "fact" of identity, moving it from the column of "Immutable Givens" to the column of "Contingent Constructions." It forcefully pointed out the need for new frameworks for analyzing cultural interaction and opened the way for fresh approaches to the problems of how people "know" who they are and what factors contribute to such knowledge. Where Barth emphasized boundary construction to explain how groups differentiated themselves, others, such as Charles Keyes, focused attention instead on the cultural terms used to construct ethnic identity, stressing the affective, or internal, markers of ethnic membership, as opposed to external, or ascriptive, markers.[25] Together, these new analyses opened up the possibility of using ethnicity as a hermeneutic to interpret identity formation for different groups—majority *or* minority—at different times and places. By the 1980s, *ethnic group* had come to be defined as a group that is conscious of its own solidarity, which is marked in ways including, but not limited to, common descent, history, and culture, such a group necessarily constructing itself transactionally, in opposition to groups it perceives as different from itself. Most scholars also agree that the authentic "stuff" of ethnicity (which festivals one actually celebrates, who one's ancestors really were, which language or dialect one actually speaks) ultimately matters less than the belief in authenticity. It is this belief that powers the perception that "our stuff" is different from "their stuff" and lends weight to the idea that such difference counts for something and that it is socially meaningful.[26]

This understanding of ethnicity and the ethnic group problematizes a range of issues with significant historical implications, such as how ethnic consciousness is created, what its sources are, and what purposes it is called on to serve. Once we discard the idea that people know who they are in some essential or originary way, and instead accept the notion that ethnic difference is construed through politically and socially charged interpretations of descent and culture, then it becomes difficult to accept that such constructions are somehow particular to the modern age. Ethnicity, like class, gender, and other kinds of "unconscious" social discourse, suddenly acquires history, too. The growing body of scholarship on historical ethnicity, much of it focused on the complex dynamics of borderland areas around the world,[27] makes it increasingly apparent that a transactional, constructivist understanding of ethnicity is an extremely valuable tool for understanding the relationship between culture, politics, and social organization in the past.

One might submit one last objection to this whole intellectual project and ask, "But why do people have to think of themselves as *being* anything?" To this question, the answer is simply that they do and always have—because, with very few exceptions, in any world, any society, at any time, there is an Other, forever forcing the issue of who is in and who is out.

The Ethnic Divisions of the Eight Banners

On the basis of the second, more inflected, definition of ethnicity just outlined, it is possible to say that the chief divisions within the Eight Banners—Manchu, Mongol, Hanjun—were indeed ethnic. That is, broadly speaking, each of these categories represented formalized perceptions of groups seen as possessing a coherence arising from (putatively) shared descent and culture and marked by certain (putatively) shared normative characteristics. In this section, I would like to sketch in the articulation, first, of the Manchu banners, and then of the Mongol and Hanjun banners, to show how the separation of people into such divisions (and into companies within them) reflected contemporary ethnic thinking. It will become apparent that these two processes—the growth of the banners on the one hand and the evolution of ethnic thinking on the other—though independent, were intimately linked.

This point of view—that the Eight Banners had a tremendously important influence on the development of its members' ethnic identities—should be distinguished from the view that those identities, like the Eight Banners, were entirely the creation of the state, that they were classifications bearing no relation to "identifiable, preexisting groups with distinct cultures."[28] Given the overwhelming predominance of people in the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners, who, according to labels in use at the time, were identified as (and identified themselves as) Jurchen/Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese, respectively, it seems perverse to deny the commonsense logic behind these principles of organization, all the more so since company divisions invariably respected ethnic affiliation.[29] To be sure, there was occasional "bleeding" between categories. But this was precisely *because* they were ethnic, and therefore not hermetic. And though for various reasons the state may, from the historian's point of view, sometimes have played havoc with these distinctions, it did not make them up out of whole cloth. By the same token, individual actors who sought to manipulate ethnic categories could only do so in the context of an already accepted discourse of ethnicity—otherwise there would have been nothing to manipulate. Let us look at these categories one by one.

The Eight Banner Manchus

The Manchu case is a striking example of successful ethnic innovation, and the preservation of relatively plentiful evidence means we can watch this process as it began in the seventeenth century and then trace the evolution of the Manchu ethnos through the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries (though this essay will only go as far as the eighteenth). That some of this evidence was written down in the Manchus' own language provides an unusual opportunity to see things from the inside out, so to speak. These sources make plain that even in the early 1600s the Jurchen conception of identity revolved around many of the same things, and worked in the same ways, as ethnicity anywhere. Elements such as language, dress, and ancestry were deployed to make an ethnos out of a disparate assembly of feuding lineages and "tribes."

The creation and early expansion of the Eight Banners has already been outlined, but it perhaps bears repeating that the banners began as a means of organizing early seventeenth-century *Jurchen* society for war. Jurchens—not Mongols, not Han Chinese—were the original constituents of the banners, and the Eight Banners was originally seen as an exclusively Jurchen organization. This is borne out, for example, by a 1623 reference to Nurhaci's followers as being comprised of "the banners, the Mongols, and the Han."[30] Only as more and more non-Jurchen groups were incorporated into Nurhaci's supratribal confederation did the banners become an ethnically plural organization. Even then, the most important and most valued group within the banners remained the Jurchens. So who were the Jurchens? How did they become Manchus? And what role did the banners play in the process?

The majority of the Jurchens who inhabited the northeastern frontier of the Ming empire were in all likelihood the descendants of the same people who emerged from the forests of this interstitial zone between Korea, Mongolia, and China to found the Jin dynasty in 1114. Taking over the former Song capital of Kaifeng, the Jin Jurchens ruled over most of the north China plain until they were defeated by the powerful Mongol state in 1234. At that point some Jurchens opted to stay on and serve the new Yuan dynasty as officials and soldiers, but after the Yuan fell in 1368 most who had not already done so returned to their original homeland. They dwelt there as the (mostly) peaceful subjects of the Ming regime until the different groups into which the Jurchens were divided began quarreling among themselves in the later 1500s. The new alliances and configurations of power born out of this strife disrupted Beijing's "divide and rule" strategy and, owing also to shortsighted Ming policies, led to the emergence of a single powerful Jianzhou chieftain who managed to reunite the Jurchen populations settled in the central and eastern portions of the region. That chieftain was Nurhaci.

The story of Nurhaci's rise and the eventual triumph of the dynasty he established has been told many times. Here we are interested primarily in how Nurhaci and his successor, Hong Taiji, created and then used ethnic solidarity to unify the Jurchens as they strove to consolidate and extend their power as khans, first of the Latter Jin (est. 1616) and then of the Qing (est. 1636) dynasties. One important step in the creation of Manchu ethnicity was the construction of what Paul Kroskrity calls a "language regime," or an ideology of language.[31] There are numerous statements by Nurhaci, such as his reference to the "*gurun* of the Jurchen tongue,"[32] that reveal the importance he placed upon language as a marker of Jurchenness, as something that had the power to set his people apart from others as well as the power to bind them together as a group. At times he spoke of the Chinese and Manchus as "*gurun* of different languages,"[33] or of the Khalkhas and the Jurchens sharing everything except language,[34] suggesting an assumption of congruence of language and *gurun*, understandable in this context as "nation" in the older sense of the word.[35] The importance Nurhaci attached to what would later be called the Manchu language is also evident in the development of a new script circa 1600, which went far toward elevating its utility, universality, and prestige, and laid the foundations tor a native literature in Manchu. Later on in the Qing, enormous energy would be devoted by the court (and by others as well) to developing the lexical and literary infrastructure of what became known as the "Qing language" (*Qingyu*) or the "national/dynastic language" (*guoyu*) in Chinese, the "language of the Manchus" (*manju gisun*) in Manchu.

Though it was essential to the ethnic project, language was not always an absolute marker. For instance, the Yehe, one of the last Jurchen groups to be brought into Nurhaci's confederation, spoke a language that was somewhat different from that of other Jurchens, yet they too could still be considered part of the Jurchen nation: "As for the Yehe and ourselves, our speech differs, but are we not of the same Jurchen *gurun*?"[36] This quotation from Nurhaci indicates that elements other than language went into the making of the Jurchen nation. These included shared descent (the Yehe were specifically included in a 1613 listing by Nurhaci of the nine lineages [*hala*] that, according to him, made up the Jurchen *gurun*),[37] shared territory (defined as the land bounded by Korea on the east, Mongolia on the north, and China on the west),[38] shared origins in the Changbai mountains (glorified in the Qing origin myth, in circulation before the conquest, as the homeland of all Manchus),[39] along with clothing, food, hairstyle, wedding and funeral ritual, and Spartan lifeways.[40] None of these by itself necessarily ruled anyone out: Dress or hairstyle could be invoked to emphasize essential Mongol and Jurchen unity, and in the same breath it could be used to distinguish Manchus from Han.[41] But together their constitutive power was great; so great that to a 1636 proposal advocating that his officials adopt Chinese-style clothing, Hong Taiji responded vehemently that this was how the Jin dynasty had fallen centuries before, insisting that the preservation of native clothing style, along with the Manchu language and martial valor, was essential to maintaining power.[42]

On all these counts—in terms of who they believed themselves to be and in terms of how they believed themselves to be different from others—by the end of the first third of the seventeenth century, the Jurchens resembled what we think of as an ethnic group. Outsiders also perceived them as different and distinct (not always favorably so). The main thing the Jurchen ethnos lacked was a single, all-encompassing name. For the name *Jušen* not only did not sit well with all Jurchen tribesmen (some of whom still resented Jianzhou overlordship or may not, like the Yehe, have even considered themselves Jurchen), but it also summoned up inconvenient memories of subservience to the Ming. This problem was solved when the new name "Manchu" (*Manzhou, Manju*) was applied to the Jurchens in late 1635:

> Originally, the name for our people [*gurun*] was Manju, Hada, Ula, Yehe, and Hoifa. Ignorant people call these "Jurchens." [But] the Jurchens are those of the same clan of Coo Mergen Sibe. What relation are they to us? Henceforth, everyone shall call [us] by our people's original name, *Manju*. Uttering "Jurchen" will be a crime.[43]

Manchu was thus not merely a political designation, for it did not comprehend *all* the subjects of the Latter Jin khan. Nor, it should be said, did it include all Jurchens, since some who were counted as "wild Jurchens" were not part of the Manchu ethnos. Rather, *Manchu* was a name intended to cover outstanding differences (political and other) among the Jurchens in the Eight Banners and promote unity among them by emphasizing the relatedness and antiquity of its different constituents.

It did this in part by carving out a distinctive identity for the erstwhile Jurchens, not only vis-à-vis Koreans, Mongols, and Han Chinese, but also vis-à-vis Mongols and Han Chinese in the Eight Banners, who were expressly excluded from the above definition of who the *Manju* were.[44] The promulgation of the name helped create a sense of unity and collectivity in other ways, too. For by imposing a new name upon all his Jurchen subjects, regardless of their original affiliations or attitudes toward his or his father's imperial ambitions, Hong Taiji aimed to match the affective contours of an emerging pan-Jurchen identity with a single name evocative of an ascriptive unity, much in the same way that Chinggis aimed to create a unitary Mongol identity when in 1206 he christened all his followers "Mongghol" (at the time these included Mongghol tribespeople but also Onggirad,Tayichighud, Kereyid, Naiman, and Merkid). Moreover, by framing matters as he did, Hong Taiji was able to avoid the impression that he was "creating" or inventing anything. Instead, he appeared to be engaged in a rectification of names, reclaiming a pre-existing Manchu identity from the errors of "ignorant people."

The historical record does not seem to bear out Hong Taiji's claims on this score. There is every reason to believe that *Manchu* was an invented name with little prior currency.[45] But it seems beside the point to argue that because it was a consciously constructed category, *Manchu* was somehow an artificial designation, and therefore not ethnic. For the concept of ethnicity we are working with does not pretend to judge claims of authenticity; it is only concerned with the viability of such claims. On that basis, it hardly seems that the purported artificiality of the name kept it from doing its job, as demonstrated by the survival of the name *Manchu*, and of a people who identify themselves by it to this very day. This is not to mention that, at bottom, virtually all ethnonyms the world over are (or were) "inventions."

The Eight Banner Mongols

At least as impressive as his unification of the Jurchen tribes was Nurhaci's ability to present himself as a viable leader also to Mongol tribes, such as the Eastern Khalkha,[46] who recognized his authority as a "player" in Inner Asian politics as early as 1594, when they sent him gifts and engaged in an exchange of brides. Nurhaci's high standing was confirmed by the title "respected khan" (Mongolian *kündelen khan*), awarded him in 1607 by a visiting delegation of these same Eastern Khalkha, led by Enggeder, son of the Bayaghud prince Darkhan Baghatur Noyan. (Up to this point, Nurhaci had only dared claim the title of "wise prince" [Ma *sure beile*].) These achievements were crucial to the future of the Jurchen confederation if it wished to expand its influence beyond its current borders, or even if it just planned to secure what it had already won. Such plans depended upon neutralizing the potential Mongol threat to the Jurchen western flank by winning political supremacy over the southern and eastern steppe. This was no easy task, as the political situation among the divided Mongol tribes (there was no unified "Mongolia" at this time) was complex and fluid, and Nurhaci faced at least one serious rival in his bid for dominance, Lingdan khan, the last legitimate Chinggisid claimant and the leader of the powerful Chakhar tribes.

Nurhaci met this challenge in four principal ways. First, he offered military aid and political refuge to the Khalkha and other groups, such as the Kharachin, Khorchin, and Tumet, in their quarrels with each other and other Mongols. Second, he made advantageous marriage alliances, most especially with the Khorchin, who boasted blood ties to the Borjigtid lineage of Chinggis (the grandmother of the Kangxi emperor hailed from precisely this background). Third, he competed with Lingdan khan in his patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, the primary religion of most Mongols and a crucial source of political legitimacy for many Mongol khans, beginning with Khubilai. Finally, Nurhaci welcomed Mongols into the Jurchen state, using methods of administration like the banner system that were amenable and adaptable to the realities of Mongol society. In doing these things, Nurhaci did more than just set the pattern for the management of relations with the Mongols that endured for most of the Qing. He also broke decisively with any notion that the Latter Jin was exclusively for Jurchens and pushed it inexorably toward the embrace of a concept of universal rule.[47]

The direct incorporation of Mongols into the militarized society of the Latter Jin began in 1622, when Kharachin and other eastern Mongols who came over to Nurhaci (many seeking protection from the Chakhar) were organized into their own *niru* (called in Mongolian *sumun*, with the identical meaning of "arrow"). These were attached to various of the Eight Banners. Some submissions, like that of the Khalkha in 1619 (the Khalkha were not at first organized into companies) and the Kharachin in 1622, involved large numbers of people; the terms of their submission were governed by sworn "treaties" and more resembled alliances than outright recognition of Jurchen hegemony. Other submissions were entirely random. Farquhar described the process as follows: "Small groups of Mongols—consisting perhaps of only a noble or two, a couple hundred soldiers, their families and livestock, and even a few lamas—would come to the Manchus and 'surrender,' putting their services at the disposal of the Manchus and recognizing the Manchu ruler as their khaghan."[48] This happened often enough that by the mid-1620s there were forty Mongol companies, warranting their redistribution, five to a banner.[49] In 1635, when Mongol forces had grown to number around ten thousand, Hong Taiji decided to remove the Mongol companies from the Manchu banners and establish eight Mongol banners, containing a total of eighty companies. Still not wholly independent, the new Mongol banners remained subject to the banner chiefs of the Manchu color-banner of which they were part. Over time the number of companies in the Mongol banners increased, reaching 209 by 1730.[50] In terms of size, however, the Mongol banners were always the smallest of the three ethnic divisions, their total population (including women and children) numbering no more than about 200,000 at the time of the conquest and a little more than twice that in 1720.[51]

It is important to note that in a few instances Eight Banner Mongols were registered in the Manchu, not the Mongol, banners. Such exceptions were not the result of accidental blindness to ethnic difference, but of specific political considerations, such as a wish to isolate certain groups whose affiliation with the Qing had happened under duress and whose loyalties remained questionable. Even in these cases, the logic of ethnic separation continued to be obeyed, but at a lower level, as such people remained within Mongol-only companies shared out among the Manchu banners, where presumably they could be more easily watched over.[52]

The nature of Mongol identity under Qing rule is a subject that is only now beginning to receive serious attention.[53] The early Manchus certainly seem to have felt they shared something with those whom they called "Mongols" (Ma *Monggo*), a label that was loosely applied to all nomadic peoples dwelling northwest of the Jurchen homeland (though not to the Oyirad). Calls for Jurchen-Mongol unity emphasized the similarities of their lifestyle and dress and their shared enmity for the Ming. For instance, when appealing to the Khalkha in 1619 to join him in campaign against the Ming, Nurhaci said, "Only the speech of our two *gurun* is different; in the clothes we wear and in our way of life, we are alike." And in a similar pitch the next year: "Our two countries are as one. Let our two families live as one. Let us attack the Ming as one."[54] It is hard to know whether to take seriously the claim that Jurchen and Mongol ways of life were really the same, since the Jurchen had long lived in fixed settlements and shared little of the pastoral existence typical of Mongols. On the other hand, this may have been a reference to a penchant for life in the saddle that emphasized martial virtue, in which case a common chord could certainly be struck. Whatever their sympathies, with a few exceptions (such as the group Pamela Kyle Crossley identifies as the Hūlun), there does not seem to have been very much confusion between who was Jurchen and who was Mongol. Partly this was doubtless the result of abiding linguistic differences—it was not unheard-of even in the eighteenth century for Eight Banner Mongols to have a hard time getting by in Manchu—that divided the two groups, and partly also the result of the recognition of wholly distinct histories and genealogies, of which the Manchus were quite well aware because of the immediate relevance of the Mongol imperial heritage to their own imperial project.

It should be pointed out that most Mongols who became subject to Qing authority were governed through a highly elaborate arrangement of banners and leagues that effectively placed them in a colonial relationship—politically, economically, legally—with the imperial center. But this system was entirely separate from the Eight Banners, in which only a minority (about 20 percent) of Mongols loyal to the Qing were enrolled. Eight Banner Mongols, with whom we are concerned here, enjoyed a very different relationship with the throne, and their identity in the Qing world was accordingly distinct. Like Manchus, they had easier access to official position and frequently assumed posts of great responsibility in both the civilian and military administration. Divided between Beijing and the provincial garrisons, they also enjoyed the other perquisites of banner life, including salaries, legal privileges, and so forth. For all that, however, they continued to share the same ethnonym as before and appear, at least in some instances, to have retained empathetic ties to Mongols who remained outside the Eight Banner system and lived in Mongolia. A 1727 case involving the Mongol bannerman Dzungjab, for example, reveals serious tension between Manchu and Mongol bannermen and alludes to pan-Mongol sympathies between Mongols inside the Eight Banners and those outside.[55]

The Eight Banner Hanjun

The development of the Hanjun Eight Banners—composed mainly of Han Chinese households who had joined (or been joined) with the Latter Jin/Qing state—broadly paralleled that of the Mongol banners, except that it took longer and occurred later.[56] Like Mongol soldiers, allied Han soldiers were initially organized separately and led by their original commanders under close Manchu supervision. However, whereas Mongols were put into their own *niru*-companies fairly early on, this experiment was not attempted with Chinese soldiers until 1637. In addition, while the eight Mongol banners were brought forth at a single stroke in 1635, the Hanjun banners expanded gradually between 1637 and 1642.

The first time the Jurchens tried to raise an army of Han Chinese soldiers to fight for them was in 1621, when one out of every twenty adult Chinese males living under Latter Jin rule was conscripted for military service.[57] These troops were not put into *niru*-style companies, however, and were disbanded after the revolt of Liaodong Chinese in 1625. By 1631, a Han army had been regrouped under the name of the "Old Han Troops" (*jiu Han bing/fe Nikan-i cooha*), in part in response to strategic needs, since Chinese knew how to cast and use cannon and were already practiced with muskets. Hong Taiji's recognition that victory over the Ming would he difficult without this technology helped overcome his doubts about the wisdom of once again placing weapons in the hands of his Chinese subjects. Eight months after casting several large cannon, the Han troops dragged them into battle at Dalinghe, which ended the siege of that city and won an important victory for the Jin.[58] It is generally believed that the hauling of this massive artillery earned the Old Han Troops the designation *ujen cooha*, "heavy troops," by 1634.[59]

The Han division created in 1631 was partitioned into six battalions, who drilled and fought separately from the Manchu banners. Some sources refer to them as the first Han "banner," but this must have referred to the dark blue-green flags under which they were grouped, and not to their incorporation into a *gūsa*-banner. Only in 1637 was the single Han division broken into two and its soldiers and their dependents organized into *niru*-companies on the Manchu model. Even then, Hanjun companies were still attached to the Manchu banners, and the flag patterns of the Manchu and Mongol banners were not yet adopted. In 1639 four divisions of Hanjun companies were established. The number was finally expanded to eight in 1642, when the last companies of Han soldiers and their households were culled from the Manchu banners and instituted as a banner organization separate from and parallel to the other sixteen banners.[60]

The step-by-step creation of the Hanjun banners reflects the uncertainty of Manchu policy toward the Han Chinese (called *Nikan* in Manchu) both before and after the conquest, such uncertainty itself a product of Manchu insecurity in the face of superior Chinese numbers and (very often) attitudes. It also raises the question of who the "Chinese" were at this time; that is, who was recognized and categorized as being "Chinese" and why. The fact is that Han Chinese living under Manchu rule at this time came from many different backgrounds and hardly comprised a homogeneous whole. There were "transfrontiersmen" and those who had defected to Nurhaci prior to 1618; there were captives of the Liaodong and Liaoxi campaigns of 1618–22; and then there were the Ming defectors to Hong Taiji, such as those who surrendered at Dalinghe in 1631 or during the naval engagements of 1633. Many members of the first group were so acculturated to Jurchen ways as to make their distinction as "Chinese" meaningless except in strict genealogical terms, and even then the picture was not always so clear. Some of these people even ended up in Manchu companies. At the other end of the spectrum were members of the third group, who were the least acculturated of all and who remained more or less within their original military divisions even after their integration into the Hanjun banners in 1642.[61]

The second group, consisting of those captured in the years of Latter Jin expansion into former Ming territory in Liaodong, was the most diverse and met varied fates. For instance, although a majority of the one million Chinese who came under Latter Jin rule after 1621 were permitted to live more or less as before, virtually all of those captured at Fushun in 1618 and at Mukden the following year became slaves or bondservants, many of the latter being registered in special "flag-and-drum" (*qigu/cigu*) companies attached to the Manchu Right Banners.[62] In contrast, the garrison commander who surrendered Fushun to the Manchus, Li Yongfang, was treated extremely well, and the troops he brought with him were all granted freeholder status, outside the banner system.[63] Other Ming soldiers, such as Bao Chengxian (who in 1637 proposed that companies and banners on the Manchu model be established for Hanjun troops), and Shi Tingzhu, one of the first Hanjun commanders, both surrendered at the fall of Guangning in 1622 and went on to distinguished military careers under the Jurchens.[64] Shi was in fact originally from a Jurchen background, but long years of living in the Liaodong pale had acculturated him to Chinese ways. Like Arsai, Shi's case is a useful reminder of the fungibility of ethnic identity even when the state begins to try to pin down such categories.

From this brief exposition we can conclude that (a) not all Chinese under Jurchen (later Manchu) rule were enrolled in the banner system; (b) not all the Chinese in the banner system were necessarily Hanjun; and (c) not everyone in the Hanjun banners was necessarily "Chinese." On the basis of the first two of these propositions it is clear that we cannot draw a direct correlation between Hanjun status and being Chinese. The most we could say is that the Hanjun were a subset of the larger category of "Chinese" (though this reflects a later interpretation of their ethnicity and does not appear to be the way they were perceived in the early seventeenth century), but the third proposition prevents us from doing so. The obvious question is: if, as seems to be the case, the vast majority of people in the Hanjun were ethnically Chinese, why would non-Chinese be classified as Hanjun?

To answer this, we need to know how *Chinese* was defined in early seventeenth-century Liaodong. There appear to be a couple of ways to answer this. One is to deny that "Chineseness" had any cultural component and to say that anyone who was a subject of the Ming was assumed to be Chinese. This definition would have ceased to make sense, though, once large numbers of Ming subjects began coming over to the Latter Jin, and would have had to be understood as referring to anyone who was still a subject of the Ming. Even then, it does not seem to square with statements made at the time about particularistic "difference" of the *Nikan*, who were regarded for a long time as unsuited to the Jurchen way of life (and hence not automatically organized into *niru*, in contrast to Mongol adherents) and as unappreciative of Jurchen rule. For instance, in a 1622 speech Nurhaci sternly reprimanded his Chinese followers, saying, "You don't think of the beneficence extended by the khan who has nurtured you, and your failure to handle matters carefully—what [sort of attitude] is this, that getting booty is all there is? We don't trust you Chinese now."[65]

The essentializing tone of these remarks leads us to reject *Chinese* as a purely political category and think of it instead as representing an ethnicized rubric—which, just in case it is not already clear, does not mean we accept that the qualities Nurhaci ascribed to the Chinese were *in fact* true, only that we accept that it got seen that way. In this instance, we might conclude that people who ended up in Hanjun (or *qigu* bondservant companies) but who later turned out (or made the claim) not to be Chinese must have appeared "Chinese" at the time—meaning that in their behavior, in their speech, on their bodies, they bore the affective signs of ethnicity we have already been over (language, way of life, names, dress, hairstyle). This accords more or less with the definition of *Nikan* set forth by Crossley, as people who lived like Chinese, spoke Chinese, and lived (I would add here "or had lived") under Chinese rule. To her contention that ancestry did not figure in this conceptualization of Chineseness, however, I would argue that the assumption of a Chinese surname—which was, as far as we know, universal among the Jurchen who had earlier emigrated to Chinese territory to settle—signified to others the "fact" of their Chinese ancestry.[66]

Ethnic Hierarchies in the Banners

The preceding section has demonstrated that during the formation of the Eight Banners, although ethnic categories were not immutable (particularly where it concerned Han Chinese who had lived for a long time among the Jurchens), by and large, distinctions of ancestry (real or assumed), language, and culture were respected: Manchus were enrolled in the Manchu banners, Mongols in the Mongol banners, and Ming-frontier Chinese in the Hanjun banners. This was plainly the understanding of the early eighteenth-century Hanjun writer Jin Dechun, who described the Eight Banners in this way: "Each banner is divided into three sections. The tribes that were originally Nurhaci's . . . make up the Manchu [section]. The various bow-drawing peoples from the Northern Desert . . . form the Mongol [section], while the descendants of people from Liao[dong], former Ming commanders and emissaries, those from the other dynasty who defected with multitudes [of soldiers], and captives are separately attached to the Hanjun."[67] In my view, the anomalies we observe in the particular results of this organization do not justify rejection of the idea that ethnic principles were at work in the Eight Banner system, especially since, as already mentioned, ethnically separate groups continued in almost all cases to be registered in separate companies. That is, even though we find ethnic diversity at the level of the banner (e.g., Han Chinese bondservants attached to Manchu banners, supposed Manchus in the Hanjun banners), we almost never find ethnic diversity within the company, which was a far more important unit in the daily lives of banner people than was the banner itself.

On the other hand, these anomalies do warn against assuming that matters were totally straightforward and that banner ethnicity was in any way transparent (something that the careful reader will already have gleaned from the footnotes to this essay). Since, after the conquest, membership in the banners conferred real privileges and advantages—guaranteed monthly salaries, rice rations, legal immunities, lightened punishment, special prisons, quotas in the examination system, easier advancement to office, and so forth—many who were not in the banners tried to find ways to get in. Those who were already in the system might also strive to shift their identities to take advantage of its internal hierarchies. The Manchu and Mongol banners, for example, received more benefits from the state (for one thing, their soldiers were paid one more ounce of silver per month than Hanjun soldiers), and some color-banners (the so-called Upper Three Banners, i.e., the Bordered Yellow, Plain Yellow, and Plain White) were more prestigious than the rest. On top of this were hierarchies of status, with free households for the most part outranking unfree or servile households. So it appears that there was also a fair amount of movement at these levels, too.

In all such cases, people deployed strategies one often sees in ethnic situations—claiming a certain ancestry, affecting a certain way of life or taking up a certain set of skills, living in a certain place, taking certain kinds of names, speaking a certain language instead of another or speaking a language a certain way instead of another—which amounted to attempts to "pass." Sometimes such strategies worked, sometimes they didn't.[68] That such practices went on, however, signals (as the case of the Hanjun Cui Zhilu cited in the introduction also suggests) that ethnic categories in the banners had real meaning for people and were not state-imposed classificatory schemes with no relevance to popular perceptions. On the contrary, they became part of the vocabulary of ordinary life in the Qing, especially urban life in Beijing, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Xi'an, Guangzhou, and the other garrison cities. Indeed, the institutional line between those inside and those outside the banners represented a fundamental division in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century society: "Never mind who is Manchu and who is Han," the saying went, "but ask who is a bannerman and who is a civilian."

This popular phrase seems to suggest that internal classifications within the Eight Banners ceased to matter after some point, hut closer investigation reveals that this was far from being the case. Though Eight Banner society might have appeared monolithic to those outside its ranks, in fact ethnic distinctions in the banner system remained strong for quite some time. These distinctions perhaps never mattered more than in the mid-1700s, when, in order to preserve the privileged position of Manchus and Mongols, Hanjun and other groups with lesser privileges in the banners saw their status within the banners decline precipitously. This consolidation, begun by the Yongzheng emperor and completed by the Qianlong emperor, bespoke growing fears of an "identity crisis" among the Manchus. The remainder of this essay takes up this crisis and some of the responses to it. The analysis here has two chief goals: one is to illustrate the importance of the Eight Banners to the evolution of that identity over time, and the other is to demonstrate the heuristic utility of ethnicity in coming to terms with the shifting boundaries of Manchu identity in the eighteenth century.

The Eighteenth-Century Manchu "Identity Crisis"

There were two dimensions to the Manchu identity crisis of the eighteenth century. One was the threat to the "Old Way" posed by the temptations of China's refined culture, and the other was the threat to the banner system itself posed by the growing economic burden the system placed upon the state.

Regarding the threat to the "Old Way," by 1725 reports on slipping standards of martial ability among Manchu bannermen were already being noted with alarm by the Manchu elite. The fear that acculturation endangered Manchu distinctiveness and dynastic vitality prompted a steady stream of warnings and exhortations to bannermen from the emperor and other Manchu elites to hold on to their self-respect and devote themselves to repaying the emperor's grace, which they, as Manchus, enjoyed in a more direct and personal fashion than others in the empire.[69] The following admonition, delivered in 1735 by a garrison commander to his men, is a typical example: "Study hard and learn well how to speak Manchu, how to shoot from a stance and from horseback, and how to handle a musket. Obey established customs and live frugally and economically. All of you have been raised and nurtured in due measure by our divine master [Ma *enduringge ejen*, i.e., the emperor]—you must work hard to repay his great favor!"[70] A few months after this speech was made, the Qianlong emperor came to the throne. He vigorously seized upon the formulation of the "Old Way of the Manchus" (*Manzhou jiu feng/Manjusai fe doro*), which included ability in the Manchu language, martial skill, and a simple, frugal lifestyle (sometimes also "virility" [Ma *hahai erdemu*]) as a way to rouse the troops.[71] Even though neither the notion of the "Old Way" nor concern for its disappearance began with Qianlong, he was unquestionably its most tireless advocate.

Yet the emperor's appeals went largely unheeded. The court depended upon (or believed it depended upon, which amounted to much the same thing) the strong support of bannermen, especially Manchu bannermen, who provided crucial talent at the top ranks of both the civilian and military administration, and so was in no position to enforce its own ethnic ideal by, say, threatening expulsion from the Eight Banners of those who failed to comply with its demands that they leave off with the Chinese poetry readings and strengthen their bow arms instead. In the end, if the customs and practices of the court-sponsored Manchu ideal were regarded by more and more Manchus as obsolete, the emperor could do little but wring his hands—which he continued to do, right through the eighteenth century, to no avail.

The other dimension of the eighteenth-century crisis, the economic threat to the future of the banner system, is much less studied, and so receives greater attention here. It inspired a different reaction from the court, which set about rewriting the rules for banner registration that began in 1723 and lasted until 1740. The reforms have usually been interpreted solely in economic terms, and certainly financial considerations played a large part in their adoption, given that by 1730 something close to one-quarter of the state's annual budget was going to the upkeep of the Eight Banners.[72] However, since the reforms meant deciding who was Manchu and who was not, they should also be understood as a reinforcement of ethnic boundaries, that is, ascriptive identity, within the banner system. This was very important at a time when, as just described, affective identity appeared to be under threat. Furthermore, the Eight Banners generally, and the Manchu banners especially, were regarded as the "foundation of the nation [or dynasty]" (*guojia zhi genben/gurun-i fulehe da*). Behind the court's determined effort to "purify" the banners and preserve Manchu privileges for "real Manchus" loomed matters of identity linked closely with political concerns. The same was true of the move to discharge large numbers of Hanjun from the banners and return them to the Chinese society from which they had supposedly come.

The campaign to clean up banner ranks was, not too surprisingly, the brainchild of the energetic and fiscally conscientious Yongzheng emperor. By the time he took the throne, it was widely recognized that not everyone who claimed a certain status in the banners was really entitled to that status and that many people were fraudulently collecting salaries rightfully owed regular bannermen. With the livelihoods of "real" Manchus thus imperiled, the court tried to tighten access to banner privilege by requiring genealogical proof of Manchu ancestry and curtailing the privileges accorded (or usurped by) other groups of intermediate household status. These groups included, for instance, bannermen who had set up quasi-independent households but who had no post that would qualify them for regular status, as well as households of former bondservants and slaves who had been rewarded with semi-independent status for valor in battle or other distinction in service.[73] The former were called "detached households" (*linghu/encu boigon*), the latter, "entailed households" (*kaihu/dungse araha boigon*).

Though both of these kinds of households maintained dependency upon a regular household, the nature of this dependency differed. Detached households were made up of descendants of regular Manchu (or other) bannermen, enjoying all the legal rights conferred by this primary status. Because of their unfree origins, entailed households, on the other hand, were still considered inferior and had no such privileges. Confusion between these two types of status grew during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the population rose and the number of companies more than doubled. Such confusion was not always accidental. By falsely claiming regular (*zhenghu/jingkini boigon*) or detached status, entailed households were able to circumvent a 1704 prohibition on their taking regular military posts.[74] They were abetted in false registration by regular households eager to improve their general finances, since when there was no male heir, getting someone of servile status, such as a bondservant (or his son), into a soldier's uniform could mean the deliverance of the main household from ruin. It seems that many a Manchu widow was supported by the salary earned by a bondservant who had been permitted to take her husband's or son's post.[75]

To ensure Manchu access to the positions that were rightfully theirs, Yong-zheng ordered the collection of information on the composition of banner households and the compilation of new family registers in order to find out who was authentically Manchu (or Mongol, or Hanjun), who was originally a slave or captive, and how many of the latter were being paid soldiers' salaries.[76] In the process of carrying out this census, the detached-household (*linghu*) category presented a difficult problem, as it contained households of both "free" and "mean" status. In 1729 the court decided to make a distinction. Detached households that were split off from regular banner households were still permitted to hold this status after the facts of their origin had been established. But households discovered originally to have been of bondservant or slave status were given the new administrative label of "separate-register households" (*lingji dangan hu/dangse faksalaha-i boigon*). Confirmed detached households were eligible for appointments and all the other privileges that were enjoyed by regular Manchus, whereas separate-register households, though of superior status to entailed households, were not. Employment as regular soldiers of men from any of these secondary-status categories was prohibited by new decrees of 1726, 1727, 1738, and 1741.[77] The culmination of the process took place in 1756, when all these groups (excepting detached households) were ordered out of the banner system and made to register as civilian Han Chinese.

By making the different subgroups in the banner system more readily and surely identifiable, the court's cleanup assured the priority of regular and detached household bannermen to paying positions as soldiers and officers. And by ensuring that Manchu hereditary rights were being passed to other Manchus, even if they were not blood relations, the court tried to halt what it saw as the immiseration of Manchus by the Chinese. This process appears to have achieved these goals fairly successfully, which may have encouraged the court to pursue it to its logical conclusion: the expulsion of the Hanjun.

Though the court's old bias against the Chinese soldiers in its midst had diminished during the early Kangxi reign, one century after the conquest, official attitudes toward the Hanjun had decisively soured.[78] Determined to carry out further streamlining of the banner system, and frustrated at what they saw as the incorrigibility of many Hanjun, by the middle of the eighteenth century some officials were openly suggesting that Hanjun bannermen were in reality Han Chinese who had no grounds for remaining in the banner system. As one wrote, "Some Manchus who have been living in the provinces for a long time face difficulties, but the Hanjun are different from the Manchus. They are originally Chinese (Ch *Hanren*.)"[79] In an edict of 1742, the Qianlong emperor let it be known that he concurred with this view of the Hanjun.[80] No longer were they "people of the banners," individuals of distinct origin and part of a higher legal and social order. Instead, they were simply Chinese with peculiar family histories—the descendants of those Chinese who went over to the Qing first, nothing more and nothing less. From here it was only a short step to the elimination of many Hanjun households from the banners altogether, though this affected primarily the provincial garrisons. After first testing the waters by permitting Beijing's Hanjun to leave the banners if they wished (almost no one did), in 1754 the court discharged the Hanjun bannermen at the Fuzhou garrison, at the same time permitting them to relocate and take up whatever occupation they pleased. (Unfortunately, we have little information on the choices they made, except that many joined the Green Standard army.)[81] Unsalaried Manchu and Mongol soldiers were transferred from Beijing to take the posts that were left vacant. "Truly both sides benefit," went the edict: "Manchus from the capital get some relief, and Hanjun from the garrison gel freedom to choose their way of life."[82]

The expulsion of the Hanjun was a process that lusted almost twenty-five years. Besides Fuzhou, it involved households from Jingkou, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Suiyuan, Liangzhou, Zhuanglang, and Xi'an. Exact totals are elusive, but by the time the "repatriation" of Hanjun ended in 1778–79, between ten thousand and fifteen thousand soldiers had lost their jobs. Counting entire households, the population supported by the Hanjun banners was reduced by well over a hundred thousand people, and possibly as much as twice this figure, since there seem to have been an unusually high number of dependents in these banners.[83] More than any other group in the Eight Banners, Hanjun identity was dependent upon the institutional framework of the banners; it was now greatly weakened. Nonetheless, because their ranks in Beijing remained relatively untouched by these changes,[84] the Hanjun did survive.

In its barest outlines, the Manchu identity crisis presents the historian with the following problem: granting that the cultural "stuff" of Manchuness was fading fast as the third and fourth postconquest generations came of age, the court (and even many not-so-elite Manchus) confronted the problem that ordinary Manchus would eventually lose their distinctiveness from the mass of Han Chinese. In response to this, efforts were made to reinvigorate Manchu ethnicity from within by calling for individual rededication to the ideals of the "Old Way." We know that this program was by and large a failure. Yet we also know that Manchu identity did not disappear. The question, then, is the following: If Manchu identity had really and truly been bound up with speaking Manchu, riding horses, and living an unadorned, spartan existence, then why did it not disappear? And if it was not bound up with those things, then how *did* it survive?

Part of the answer is that those affective elements of Manchu identity never disappeared altogether, in fact. Even in the later nineteenth century, Manchus in the banners retained a fair number of distinctive cultural markers that made it hard to mistake them for Chinese. Their names, for example, were distinctive, and Manchu women did not bind their feet.[85] But an even more important piece of the explanation for the survival of the Manchu ethnos was the successful preservation of the Eight Banners, which provided the institutional framework that sustained the distinctive Manchu lifestyle.

The eighteenth-century court never tired of promoting the ideals of the Old Way. Yet, as shown, it also was careful to take the steps necessary to ensure the survival of the banner system. It was the institutionally defined elements of banner life, along with the remnants of the Old Way, that, from the eighteenth century on, came to define who the "Manchus" were. Not for nothing were they being called "bannerpeople" (*qiren/gūsai niyalma*) as early as the 1730s.[86] The program of genealogical vetting begun by the Yongzheng emperor suggests that descent was being invoked (not for the first time) as a central consideration in determining who was legitimately Manchu and who was not. But we should not lose sight of the fact that this program occurred within the compass of the banner system. It was at this moment, I would argue, that the banners went from being a universal Qing institution to being a more exclusively Manchu institution. The Hanjun experience makes this point clearly, since Hanjun who left became Chinese (*Hanren*), while those who stayed became, more than ever, "bannermen." If at that point they were halfway toward becoming Manchu, they would cover the rest of the distance in the 1900s, when their descendants would be formally recognized by the modern Chinese state as members of the "Manchu nationality" (Ch *Manzu*).

Much more work needs to be done on the operation of ethnic categories within the Eight Banners, in particular on the convergence of "Manchu" and "bannerman" (and "bannerwoman")[87] identity during the Qing. Even from where our knowledge stands now, though, there can be little question but that the banner system fundamentally shaped and reshaped Manchu, Mongol, and Hanjun ethnicity, along with Han Chinese ethnicity. Though it could not revitalize the moribund performative ideal of seventeenth-century Manchuness, the eighteenth-century Qing court's efforts to shore up the institutional structure of the banners by reinforcing ethnic hierarchy and redrawing status boundaries between household types must be regarded as a success. Indeed, the Eight Banners continued to limp along after 1911 until the rump imperial court was evicted from the palace in 1925. However, as I have tried to show, this project was much more than just another case of mid-dynastic reform. It was an act of ethnic (re)definition and, ultimately, of ethnic salvation. True, the Manchu ethnos in the 1700s (in part because of the very lifestyle imposed by the banners) was not what it had been in the 1600s, nor was it yet what it would become in the 1800s or 1900s. Yet throughout this period the label *Manchu* remained a highly visible part of a larger discourse of identity found throughout the empire. Adopting a historically inflected understanding of ethnicity allows us to see how both the category *Manchu* and the distinctive identity associated with it could be sustained over three centuries, even as it was transformed in substantive ways in and through the Eight Banners; to see how, even as the supposedly primordial qualities of the Manchu ethnos were replaced by other qualities that had little to do with court ideals, such qualities nevertheless managed to continue to set the conquering population apart and to give that population, and the conquered, an enduring sense of who the "Manchus" were and what being "Manchu" meant.

Notes

1. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 38.

2. The Fuzhou garrison, manned by about two thousand soldiers from the Hanjun banners, was one of nineteen garrisons the Qing established around the Chinese provinces to assist in maintaining local control.

3. *Qianlong hanwen zhupi zouzhe*, QL1 packet, Arsai, QL1.11.26, First Historical Archives, Beijing. All archival materials referred to in the notes are from these holdings. Following the classification system there, I will cite documents by reign (KX = Kangxi, YZ = Yongzheng, QL = Qianlong), language, (Ha = Chinese, Ma = Manchu), document type (ZPZZ= *zhupi zouzhe* [palace memorial]), packet (bao) number, memorialist, and date.

4. This encounter with the emperor did not affect Arsai's career progress in the slightest (nor does he ever seem to have followed through on changing his name back to Cui). A few months after sending the memorial cited here, he became garrison general at the Guangzhou garrison. In 1743 he was named governor-general of the important Huguang region in central China, where he served for one year before being promoted to president of the Board of Revenue, a post he held until his death two years later, in 1745. See entries in Qian, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao.*

5. For instance, in a 1740 edict to the Imperial Clan Court, the emperor ordered a stop to Han-style naming practices among the imperial clan members, a decree that was disseminated among the Eight Banners generally. *Da Qing Gaozong chun* [*Qianlong*] *huangdi shilu*, 115: 29b–30a.

6. An extremely useful source for studying the names of Manchu bannermen is Stary's. *A Dictionary of Manchu Names.*

7. This argument is advanced, in very different ways and with different emphases, in a number of recent books, the most important being Rawski, *The Last Emperors*; Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*; and my own *The Manchu Way*. An excellent study of the banner institution in the later Qing is Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*; see also Crossley's pioneering *Orphan Warriors*.

8. For ease of reference by specialist readers, an effort is made to provide original equivalents when terms are first introduced. Chinese language terms are denoted In "Ch," and Manchu language terms by "Ma." When both are given, the Chinese term comes first.

9. The groups that united to form the Manchus were called Jurchen (Nüzhen/Jusen) until 1635, when the name *Manchu* was adopted. The origin and meaning of this word remain unclear.

10. For a more detailed account, see Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 39–63; see also the introduction to Kanda et al., eds., *The Bordered Red Banner Archives in the Tōyō Bunko*.

11. This episode is well described in Roth, "The Manchu-Chinese Relationship, 1618–1636," 4–38.

12. See, for example, Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond Identity." Of course, if one insists on a word for ethnicity in the seventeenth century in order to speak of "ethnic" (as opposed to, say, "cultural") difference, then there is admittedly not much to talk about. The English word *ethnicity* is itself barely fifty years old, and the Chinese words that correspond to it only arose in the 1990s.

13. I do not claim the schematization here to be an exhaustive analysis of the different interpretations of ethnicity. Fuller analyses may be found in Tilley, "The Terms of the Debate"; and in Eller, "Ethnicity, Culture, and the Past." See also the thorough study of Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*.

14. This is part of the central argument of Crossley's *Orphan Warriors*.

15. Rhoads, for instance, dates the transformation of the Manchus from an "occupational caste" to an "ethnic group" to 1949, seeing this process as really getting underway in the 1920s (*Manchus and Han*, 284, 289). This would suggest that Rhoads's definition of *ethnic group* is close to that of *minority nationality*. Yet at a number of points in his analysis (e.g., 19, 24, 39, 45) he makes use of the term *ethnic* to describe the Manchus or the principles of banner organization during the Qing, which suggests, to the contrary, that "ethnicity" (or something very much like it) was around long before the twentieth century.

16. In preference to the more common "minorities" or "minority nationalities." Harrell, *Cultural Encounters*, 3.

17. Harrell, *Cultural Encounters*, 29. Note, however, the contrasting views of Wang Gungwu, who argues for a weak civilizing urge in China; see "The Chinese Urge to Civilize," 145–64.

18. Hon Tze-ki, "Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism."

19. See, inter alia, the following dissertations: Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses"; Skaff, "Straddling Steppe and Sown"; Brose, "Strategies of Survival"; Swope, "The Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor, 1592–1600"; and Elverskog, "Buddhism, History, and Power."

20. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.

21. Bhabha, "On the Irremovable Strangeness of Being Different," one of "Four Views on Ethnicity," 34.

22. The landmark study is *Beyond the Melting Pot* by Glazer and Moynihan.

23. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," 795–800.

24. Barth, "Introduction," 9–38.

25. Keyes, "Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group."

26. Apart from common descent, other characteristics that ethnic groups often use in "gateposting" identity include: a common name for the unit of population; a set of myths of common origins for that population; some common historical memories of things experienced together; a common "historic territory" or "homeland," or an association with one; and one or more elements of a common culture—language, customs, or religion. See Anthony Smith, "The Origins of Nations."

27. See, for instance, the review essay by Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders," 814–41.

28. Naquin, *Peking*, 371. In the note to this point, Naquin adds, "For the period before 1644, it seems advisable to follow her [Grossly] and think of these as categories for primary speakers of Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese." I have no quarrel with this. But doing so would seem to undermine the idea that these categories were arbitrary political fictions imposed by the Qing state and support the view that the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners were indeed based on current perceptions of ethnic difference, of which language (as I show below) was an important, though certainly not the only, element. I see no reason to reject the application of the term *ethnic* to these categories simply because the state had a hand in shaping them. If we accept that there is nothing inherently "natural" about ethnicity in the first place, then why should we object or be surprised if the state gets invoked in constructing it? It would be more surprising if it did not.

29. More on this issue is found in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 408 n 176.

30. *Manbun rōtō/Tongki fuka sindaha hergen-i dangse*. Kanda et al., Taizu II, 651, 734. Hereafter cited as MBRT.

31. Kroskrity, ed., *Regimes of Language*.

32. MBRT Taizu I, 189.

33. MBRT Taizu I, 202.

34. MBRT Taizu I, 160.

35. For a discussion of the term *gurun* and Manchu ideas of the "nation," see Elliott, "Manchu (Re)Definitions of the Nation in the Early Qing," 46–78.

36. MBRT Taizu I, 47.

37. MBRT Taizu I, 37–38. Crossley has forcefully argued that "the idea that 'blood' had anything at all to do with being a Manchu arises from a reading back of later Qing racial taxonomies to a time and place in which they did not yet exist" (*A Translucent Mirror*, 48). If "blood" implies shared descent and if lineages can be understood as structures of shared descent, then the reader must judge for himself whether in fact "blood" was entirely irrelevant in the imagination of early Qing categories of identity. Crossley herself acknowledges that "the earliest Jurchen/Manchu and Mongol companies were created on the basis of lineage units" (*A Translucent Mirror*, 118 n 63) and states further, with reference to the period under Nurhaci, that "the lineages were and continued to be the link with the Manchu past" (*A Translucent Mirror*, 203). Her statement (194) that "genealogical affiliation" was one of the criteria according to which Manchu identity was to be fixed under Hong Taiji, or that there was a "new wave of genealogizing" ca. 1654 (111), raises additional questions about the degree to which a concern with "blood" represents a reading back of "late Qing taxonomies."

38. MBRT Taizu I, 384.

39. On the Manchu homeland, see Elliott, "The Limits of Tartary." On the origin myth, see Matsumura, "On the Founding Legend of the Ch'ing Dynasty," 1–23, and "The Founding Legend of the Ch'ing Dynasty Reconsidered," 41–60.

40. See the more detailed discussion of these elements in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 46–45 and 65–70.

41. MBRT Taizu I, 160, 192, 211.

42. *Jiu Manzhou dang*, 5295, See also Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 276–77.

43. *Kyū Manshū tō tensō kyūnen*, in Kanda et al., *The Bordered Red Banner Archives*, vol. 2, 318. For a fuller explication of this passage, and the identity of "Coo Mergen Sibe," see Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 71 and notes.

44. In a 1995 essay, Shelley Rigger asserts that everyone who came over to Nurhaci's side before 1623 was enrolled in a banner and identified as a Jurchen ("Voices of Manchu Identity," 189). It is hard to see how the record supports this statement. Neither Mongols nor Han Chinese were ever wholly integrated into the Manchu banners; even when formally included within a Manchu banner, their organization into separate companies was consistently maintained and with a very few exceptions (usually relying on the discovery of or creation of genealogical ties to a Jurchen lineage) were never recognized as Jurchen.

However, I would quite agree with Rigger that shared identity as conquerors was one of the things that helped cement Manchu ethnicity, though I would not go as far as she does in insisting that the conquest experience was the only thing that bound the Manchus together.

45. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 71 and note.

46. That is, the "Five Tribes of Khalkha" *(tabun otogh Khalkha)*, referring to the Jarud, Bagharin, Bayaghud, Khunggirad, and Üjiyed, as distinct from the Khalkha of what would become "outer" Mongolia, who were known as the "Seven Tribes of Khalkha" (*dolughan otogh Khalkha*). See Farquhar, "The Ch'ing Administration of Mongolia," 15.

47. The evolution of "universality" as a component of Qing ruling ideology is given a fascinating dissection in Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*.

48. Farquhar, "The Ch'ing Administration of Mongolia," 22.

49. This account relies on Zhang and Guo, *Qing ruguanqian falü zhidu shi*, 263–99. As mentioned earlier, all banners at this time were "Manchu" banners.

50. Fang, "A Technique for Estimating the Numerical Strength of the Early Manchu Military Forces," 207.

51. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 364.

52. For details on how such arrangements came about, see Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 74.

53. See Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 205–15 ff., and her essay in this volume; also forthcoming work by Johan Elverskog and Ellen McGill.

54. MBRT Taizu I, 160, 237–38.

55. YZMaZPZZ 97, Nian Gengyao, YZ 3.3.9.

56. For a different account of the Hanjun, the reader is referred to Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 88–128.

57. Zhang and Guo, *Qing ruguanqian*, 301.

58. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 189.

59. This hypothesis was first advanced by Ura in "Kangun (ujen cooha) ni tsuite," 815. Responsibility for cannon appears to have belonged to the Han troops of the 1620s, too, who were known by the less elegant label, "cannon-carrying Chinese troops" (Ma *poo jafaha Nikan i cooha*). MBRT Taizu II, 734. Crossley has recently called this standard interpretation of *ujen cooha* into question; her suggestions as to its origins may be found in *A Translucent Mirror*, 96 n 20.

60. Yao, "Manzu baqizhi guojia chutan," 112–14.

61. See Zhao Qina, "Qingchu baqi *Hanjun* yanjiu," 59; Hosoya, "The Han Chinese Generals Who Collaborated with Hou-Chin Kuo," 26.

62. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor*, 35; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 84.

63. Zhang and Guo, *Qing ruguanqian*, 299–300; Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 61.

64. Zhang and Guo, *Qing ruguanqian*, 300, 311–12; Kanda, "Shinsho no kangun bushō Seki Teishū ni tsuite."

65. MBRT Taizu II, 467.

66. *A Translucent Mirror*, 91—92. On the importance of surnames, see Ebrey, "Surnames and Han Chinese Identity."

67. Jin, *Qijun zhi*, 1a–b.

68. Some examples are cited in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 325, 329.

69. This point is elaborated in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 164–71.

70. YZMaZPZZ 527, Arigūn, YZ 13.4.2.

71. For an analysis of this terminology, see Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 8–11.

72. The calculations for this estimate are presented in Elliott. *The Manchu Way*, 306–11.

73. Hosoya, "Shinchō chūki no hakki kosekihō no henkaku."

74. Hosoya, "Hakki shinchō kokōsatsu no seiritsu to sono haikei," 26.

75. YZMaZPZZ 434, Ilibu, YZ3.7.21. The memorial cites an edict from the Kangxi era permitting such arrangements but gives no date.

76. In response to the court's call, genealogies (there were two types, one clan-centered, the other company-centered) began to be received as early as 1725. These documents provided the basis for large sections of the *Baqi tongzhi* (*chuji*) (General History of the Eight Banners, first edition), published in 1739, and the *Baqi Manzhou shizu tongpu* (Comprehensive Genealogy of the Eight Banner Manchu Clans), published in 1744. The impetus for both publications originated under the Yongzheng emperor.

77. An exception was households of foster sons (*yangzi/ujihe jui*) of regular bannermen. This was yet another category, introduced in 1734 (Hosoya, "Hakki shinchō kōkōsatsu," 24). These households seem to have been allowed postings some of the time, but neither they nor other secondary bannermen could participate in the examination system.

78. See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 335–37.

79. Sun Jiagan, "*Hanjun* shengji shu," 35: 9a–b.

80. Ura, "Kangun ni tsuite," 842; Wu Wei-ping, "The Development and Decline of the Eight Banners," 147.

81. One reference (for the Jingkou garrison) says that about one-third of banner-leavers chose to register as civilians in the local *bao-jia* (*Gaozong shilu* 680, 20a). The rest presumably became Green Standard soldiers.

82. *Gaozong shilu* 459, cited in Ding Yizhuang, *Qingdai baqi zhufang zhidu yanjiu*, 185–86.

83. See Elliott, "Bannerman and Townsman," 45–46; and Ding Yizhuang, *Qing-dai baqi zhufang*, 185–88.

84. Although in 1757 came a decree that those in the capital who were "aged or maimed, unable to engage in service, or whose service is mediocre and cannot be improved, are ordered to become civilians" (Wu Wei-ping, "Development and Decline," 149).

85. More details on the cultural divide between Manchus and Han are given in chapter 1 of Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*; see also Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, chapter 6 ff.

86. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 133.

87. I present a gendered analysis of Manchu identity in "Manchu Widows and Ethnicity in Qing China."

■ Source: Elliott, Mark C., 'Manchu widows and ethnicity in Qing China', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (January 1999), © Society for Comparative Study of Society and History, published by Cambridge University Press, reproduced with permission, pp. 33–71.

MANCHU WIDOWS AND ETHNICITY IN QING CHINA

Mark C. Elliott*

Like women in many parts of the world whose husbands predeceased them, widows in China were free electrons, unbound elements in the social chemistry. Economically vulnerable, ritually superfluous, and at the same time socially destabilizing and sexually threatening, they were archetypal liminal figures—marginalized, caricatured, and feared. This has made the widow a good subject for literary critics, anthropologists, and historians interested in the way that societies treat women and in the way that treatment of widows in particular is intended to ward off or contain potential disturbance to the status quo. For China, as pioneering work by Mark Elvin and Susan Mann has shown, examining changing attitudes toward widows can illuminate larger social, political, and economic shifts in the late imperial period, roughly the thirteenth through the early twentieth centuries.[1] By focusing on Manchu widows, the present essay attempts to improve our understanding of widowhood in late imperial China and at the same time shed light on the role of widows, and women generally, in the construction of ethnicity in the Qing period (1644–1911), when the alien Manchu dynasty ruled the country.

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[1] Mark Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," *Past and Present* 104, 111–52; and Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 46: 1 (February 1987), 37–56. Among newer work, see the excellent discussion in Bettine Birge, "Levirate Marriage and the Revival of Widow Chastity in Yüan China," *Asia Major*, 8: 2 (Fall 1995), 107–46.

Widow Chastity and Manchu Legitimacy

One of the fundamental questions that attracted Elvin's and Mann's attention was the marked rise in the number of so-called "chaste wives" or "chaste widows," that is, widows who never remarried, during the Qing. Elvin noted that "during the eighteenth century the flow of candidates [for canonization as virtuous widows] steadily increased... [and] after 1845... the system had become an assembly line."[2] He characterized this change as the "democratization" of elite Confucian virtues and explained it as largely the result of the Qing court's desire to publicize virtuous behavior among the poor and advance moral education among the general population.[3]

Elvin's citation of Ming views on moral excellence, to the effect that a dynasty lacking them "will no longer be Chinese, but barbarian," subtly suggested that this campaign stemmed from the Manchus' ethnic insecurity, their fear of being thought *poseurs* by the Chinese and their desire to put up a good Confucian front.[4] Mann, who likened the expanding concern for female chastity under the Qing to a "cult,"[5] made this argument explicitly. Noting the emphasis placed by the early Qing emperors on widow chastity, she stressed the contemporary political value of this approach, through which the Qing could purchase legitimacy by appearing to "revitaliz[e] policies of the early Ming period that had fallen into abeyance." Comparing the Manchus in China to the British in India, she wrote that "the Manchus as conquering outsiders sought to codify and enforce norms in traditional Chinese culture so that they could claim to represent, and indeed to restore, an indigenous moral and social system."[6]

Another historian who has examined the subject makes a similar point, observing that, "the Manchu regime, being an alien conqueror... used [the traditional Confucian ethical code] to publicly demonstrate to their Han Chinese subjects their benignity and refinement."[7] Overall, the consensus is that the chaste widow cult sponsored by the Manchu conquerors represented a greater penetration of elite Confucian norms across social classes and that behind this hyper-orthodoxy lay political motives tied to Manchu insecurity. The Manchus wished to be seen as legitimate rulers who had won the Mandate of Heaven to rule China and not just as another pack of uncivilized barbarian interlopers.[8] Exactly what Manchu attitudes were toward their own widows, however, has never been entirely clear. Yet it would seem that these attitudes might tell us something more about the Qing commitment to Chinese standards of ritual and propriety.

When we look at widowhood in the Eight Banners, the exclusive, caste-like socio-military organization that was the backbone of Manchu power and the virtual "home" of the Manchus and their original allies, it seems at first that a similar penetration of Confucian norms occurred there as well. From a respectable number of virtuous widows (mostly suicides) early in the dynasty, the number of chaste banner widows increased exponentially in the eighteenth century, especially during the Qianlong reign (1736–95). As Table 1 illustrates, while the total number of chaste widows for the first ninety-two years of Qing rule (1644–1735) was just over 3,000 during the 60 years of the Qianlong era 12,402 banner widows were commended for loyalty to their late husbands. In other words, from an earlier average of 37 widows annually, in the later 1700s the court was recognizing 207 widows annually, a six-fold increase, a fact that was true across the 3 ethnic divisions of the banner system, Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese.[9] So it would seem that Confucian norms penetrated not only deeper into Qing society, but also more widely, moving across ethnic as well as class boundaries.

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[2] Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 135.

[3] Ibid., 123, 133, 135.

[4] Ibid., 136.

[5] Mann, "Widows in Qing China," 38.

[6] Ibid., 49–50.

[7] Tien Ju-k'ang, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 126.

[8] Mann elaborates upon this argument in her book, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), especially ch. 1. See also Ann Waltner, "Widows and Remarriage in Ming and Early Qing China," in Richard W. Guisso and Stanley Johannesen, eds., *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship* (Youngstown, NY: Philo Press, 1981), 137.

[9] The early Manchu state, like the states built by other nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of northern and central Asia, was organized primarily for conquest. The banner system, founded circa 1599, served this end by managing the levy of troops and looking after the welfare of warriors' families when men were away fighting, which was most of the time. Thus, virtually the entire Manchu population (descendants of the Jurchen tribes who founded the Jin dynasty, 1115–1234) was registered under the banner organization. As the state grew, the banner system expanded to incorporate non-Manchu soldiers and their families who had joined the Qing cause. By 1642, this resulted in the creation of three ethnic divisions within the banners, corresponding to three types of Qing armies: a Manchu division; a Mongol division (drawn mainly from Chakhar, Kharachin, and other eastern Mongol groups allied with the Manchus); and a Chinese (*Hanjun*) division, made up of frontier-dwelling Han Chinese, many of whom were acculturated to Manchu warrior ways, who had joined the Qing in opposing the Chinese Ming dynasty.

Table 1.1. Chaste Widows in the Eight Banners by Reign, 1653–1795

Reign period	Number of widows who remained chaste (shoujie)	Percentage of total number of chaste widows, 1653–1795 [in percentages]	Average number of chaste widows per annum
Shunzhi (1644–1661)[a]	142	.92	15.7
Kangxi (1662–1722)	1669	10.81	27.4
Yongzheng (1723–1735)	1223	7.92	94.1
sub-total, 1653–1661	3034	19.65	37
Qianlong (1736–1795)	12402	80.35	206.7
total, 1653–1795	15436	100	108.70

Source: *Baqi tongzhi* (*chuji*), *juan 240–50* and *Qinding baqi tongzhi*, *juan 241–69*.

[a] Recognition of faithful widows began in 1653, so calculations for the Shunzhi reign are made for the eight years, 1653–1661.

Looked at in one context, this conclusion fits nicely with long-accepted notions of how the minority Manchus (whom the Chinese outnumbered by at least 100 to 1) managed to rule China for so long. It confirms the general impression that in sponsoring Cheng-Zhu "neo-Confucianism," the Qing ruling elite enforced a rigid orthodoxy, with the Manchus, like true converts everywhere, ending up more "Chinese" than the Chinese themselves. This process of acculturation, or sinicization, as it is sometimes spoken of in the Chinese case, has frequently been pointed to by historians as the underlying reason for the success of Qing rule and continues today to be viewed by some as an essential ingredient in any recipe for alien rule. Since non-Han peoples ruled all or part of China for more than 700 of the last 1,000 years, the question is unavoidably tied up in questions of "Chineseness," nationalism, and ethnic pride.[10] The very large number of chaste banner widows in the eighteenth century would seem to furnish further evidence of wholesale Manchu acculturation. In this sense, women's pursuit of a virtuous Chinese female ideal paralleled the loss of martial ability and Manchu language skills among banner males, who became preoccupied instead with pursuing, if not Chinese ideals of literary attainment, then the fine arts of drinking Chinese tea and wine, wearing Chinese clothes, and singing arias from Chinese operas.

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[10] For a recent comprehensive restatement of this position, see Ping-ti Ho, "In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's 'Reenvisioning the Qing,'" *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57: 1 (February 1998), 123–55.

Looked at differently, however, the chaste widow "boom" among banner-women, and among Manchu women in particular, is more problematic.[11] Recent research is coming to show that ethnic concerns figured in various aspects of Qing politics to a much greater degree than previously imagined, and we are learning more about the court's long campaign against acculturation—at least, the acculturation of Manchu men. Newer interpretations of Qing history accordingly stress the degree to which maintaining a separate Manchu identity was key to long-term Qing success in ruling China.[12] But the Qing court's promotion of Confucian norms of widow behavior among Manchu appears to fly in the face of arguments that the preservation of Manchu identity mattered greatly to the court or that the court viewed acculturation with suspicion. How can this apparent contradiction be reconciled?

This is no idle question, for it touches on the uneasy accommodation of the "cosmopolitan" and the "ethnic" modes of rulership,[13] the mutually exclusive principles of legitimacy that underwrote Qing power. One element addressed the need to espouse the centuries-old rhetoric of Confucian kingship, the other the need to preserve a separate sphere of interest and influence for the Manchus as an ethnically distinct conquest group. One is reminded of a similar balancing act performed by the Ottoman Turks. Like the Manchus, the Ottomans presided over a polyethnic

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[11] As it will become clear, I use "Manchu" in this essay as a shorthand for all banner populations, whether originally ethnically Manchu or not. I am fully aware of the differences between these populations (Manchus, Mongols, Chinese banner, bondservants). My reasons for resorting to the name "Manchu" are first, that in eighteenth-century Qing usage all were frequently conflated as "banner people" (in Chinese, *qiren*; in Manchu, *gûsai niyalma*) and that, by the twentieth century, banner people indeed formally become "Manchu"; and, second, it is a useful label to make broad distinctions between those in the banners (treated as Manchu) and those outside (treated as Han). When discussing contemporary differences between various banner groups, however, I use Manchu in the more narrow sense, referring only to those enrolled in the Manchu Eight Banners.

[12] See, for example, Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); and James Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). A brief review of this trend in the scholarship is found in Evelyn Rawski, "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55: 4 (November 1996), 829–50.

[13] These terms are Philip Kuhn's. See *Soulstealers*, 60. I say more about this issue in my book, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, forthcoming).

"universal" empire and yet had to present themselves as protectors of the "faith"—for them, Islam, for the Manchus, Confucianism.[14]

The premise of this essay is that an examination of the history of widowhood among Manchu women can help us understand one aspect of the accommodation between Confucian universalism and ethnic special interest that has heretofore received very little attention, namely, the operation of gender in the logic of empire. When we trace the history of changing practices among Manchu widows, we find that what was sauce for the goose was definitely *not* sauce for the gander. The widow was at the center of a complex intersection of ethnicity, politics, and gender wherein behavior that looked Chinese actually was not at first, and wherein Chinese-style norms could be applied in female spheres while they were simultaneously resisted in male ones. The result was that in the Qing period, ethnicity—which, following recent anthropological scholarship, I interpret as a mode of consciousness arising from cultural interpretations of descent that produces a set of relations shaped by specific economic and political forces[15]—was quite unmistakeably a gendered formation.

The study of Manchu women's history has barely begun. My hope is that by filling in one corner of a larger, but mostly blank, picture, this essay will encourage further work.[16] Drawing mainly on Manchu- and Chinese-language archival documents, as well as on Qing official publications, I start by examining the establishment of the cult of virtue among bannerwomen, particularly Manchu women. I investigate the significance of the rising numbers of widows who "preserved their chastity" (Ch., *shoujie*)[17] as compared with the falling number of martyr widows who committed suicide (Ch., *xunsi, congxun*). A comparison of these two types of behavior reveals that widow suicide among Manchus, far from imitating Chinese practice, was in fact part of a wholly separate Altaic tradition. The eighteenth-century decline of widow-suicide and the popularization of Neo-Confucian chaste widow norms, on the other hand, appears to represent real acculturation among Manchu women. I then consider why this form of acculturation was not only permitted, but encouraged by the Manchu elite, when such a policy was sharply at odds with the court's distinctive ethnic ideal for Manchu men. In the conclusion I ask what this can tell us about women's place in the rhetoric of Manchu identity and about the importance of women in the construction of ethnicity historically.

The Cult of the Virtuous Bannerwoman

The sponsorship of Confucian-style virtue by the Chinese state was an institution nearly as old as the empire itself. From the Later Han dynasty (25–220 CE) through the Qing, governments rewarded exemplary moral behavior in men and women by issuing imperial patents and honorific tablets (Ch., *jingbiao*), excusing honorees from labor service, and, in the Qing, paying for the construction of memorial arches (Ch., *paifang*) in a widow's home town. The types of righteous behavior the state recognized in dispensing jingbiao changed over the centuries. From an early emphasis on the filiality (Ch., *xiao*) of sons and daughters, by the Ming period (1368–1644) attention focused above all on widows who remained faithful to their deceased husbands, either by committing suicide or by refusing to remarry, even if the couple had only been betrothed.[18] Such widows were celebrated as "chaste wives" or "chaste widows" (Ch., *jiefu*).

A chaste widow in the family could bring considerable prestige to her clan and, indeed, the entire community. For this reason, local histories from the Ming and Qing are crammed with the stories of illustrious women from the county or district, evidence of the outstanding moral fiber of the populace.[19] With the gradual cheapening of the jingbiao standard by the late eighteenth century (Elvin's "assembly line"), the social prestige of such recognition declined accordingly. Later in the Qing, the

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[14] The difference was that for the Manchus the conflict arose between their own ethnic identity and the cosmopolitan ideals of Confucianism, whereas for the Turks the primary strain was between Islam and the cosmopolitan ideals of Ottomanism, or what Norman Itzkowitz called the "Ottoman Way." There was relatively little tension between Turkish identity and Islam. Thus, in the early twentieth century, when Ottomanism was bankrupted by surging Islamic nationalism, the Turks still had their national identity, but when at the same time in China Confucianism as a state ideology was bankrupted by surging Han nationalism, the Manchus had nowhere to turn.

[15] Paraphrasing John L. Comaroff, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity," *Ethnos* 52: 3–4 (1987). The literature on ethnicity is now vast. A good summary is Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1993).

[16] The only specialized studies of Manchu women's history I am aware of are those by Lai Huimin and Ding Yizhuang, cited in the notes. I have not found any bibliography on this subject in Japanese or in European languages.

[17] An effort has been made to provide original terminology where this is deemed useful. Chinese words are denoted by "Ch," Manchu words by "Ma."

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[18] The details of the evolution of the *jingbiao* system are admirably set out in Elvin, "Female Virtue."

[19] Mann, "Widows in Qing China," 42–43.

stories of upright women became more and more formulaic until in many instances they were reduced to mere lists of names.

The Manchus first adopted the jingbiao system for recognizing their own widows in 1651, just seven years after the first Qing emperor ascended the throne in Beijing. Approving jingbiao for Manchu and other banner women may well have been one more way (along with burying the Ming emperor, implementing the civil service examinations, and so forth) that the Qing used to underscore their commitment to Confucian virtues and shore up their legitimacy as masters of the Chinese empire. Given the politics of the day, however, this was a problematic strategy: To commend the sort of fidelity inherent in widow chastity, and especially widow suicide, was to champion a virtue bearing uncomfortably close associations with the still-active Ming resistance, carried on for decades by subjects of the former dynasty who refused to recognize or to serve the upstart Qing.[20] It therefore makes sense to think about the other benefits that arose from instituting the jingbiao for bannerwomen.

First, by providing an institutionalized means of recognizing the sacrifices that their women made during the conquest of China, the Qing may have hoped implicitly to demonstrate that Han women were not the only women deserving of praise and that there were virtuous women among the Manchus, too. Moreover, framing that worthiness in Confucian terms made it readily understandable to the Chinese. But it also hid discontinuities between the cultural contexts in which Chinese and Manchu women originally acted. I shall say more about these discontinuities below.

Second, by appearing to promote Confucian virtues among bannerwomen, the court could claim it was promoting ethnic harmony. The memorial announcing that Manchu women were to be considered for *jingbiao* honors appeared in a long list of rewards, amnesties, and promotions distributed in the announcement that a temple was named for the empress dowager.[21] The announcement did not really dwell on female virtues at all, save those of the emperor's mother. Rather, its overall tone emphasized the establishment of ethnic parity and equality between Manchu and Han, promoting the idea of the Manchu emperor as a universal ruler, unbiased and equitable toward all his subjects.[22] In other words,

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[20] Mann, *Precious Records*, 25.

[21] *Da Qing Shizu zhang (Shunzhi) huangdi shilu* (Veritable Records of the emperor Shizu) (hereafter *Shizu shilu*) *juan* 53: 12b–15b.

[22] On the Qing emperor as universal ruler, see David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 38: 1 (June

by unifying the standards of propriety for Manchu and Han women, the emperor underscored the Qing claim to impartial rule. In the process, he strengthened Qing legitimacy in a different way than a simple, straightforward espousal of Confucian virtues by sending the message that Manchu rule was not only in the best Confucian tradition but that Han Chinese had nothing to fear from Manchu special interests.

At least some Han officials understood the directive in just this spirit. In 1653, the first year that *jingbiao* distinctions were actually awarded to bannerwomen,[23] the censor for the southern province of Guangdong wrote that the emperor's order to reward exemplary behavior among Manchu men and women as he did already among Han was evidence of his benevolence and "equal gaze upon Manchu and Han." Since that was the case, the official took the opportunity to ask, why not go further and eliminate the difference in mourning periods for Manchu and Han officials? If Chinese were required to take a 27-month leave of absence upon the death of a parent, Manchu officials should be required to do the same. Enforcing only a 1-month (later, 3-month) break for banner officials gave Manchus an unfair career advantage, since they did not have to resign their positions, while Han officials did.[24] But the court did not unify mourning requirements, proof that however much the rhetoric of "equal treatment of Manchu and Han" was trumpeted; and however much the court showed itself in the "cosmopolitan mode," Manchu privilege—an expression of the opposing "ethnic mode"—was a ubiquitous feature of Qing rule upon which Confucian norms could not be allowed to infringe excessively.

As the Guangdong censor's petition reveals, a double standard did exist, even if the court wished not to publicize the fact. The court neither viewed nor treated Han Chinese the same as it did Manchus and others

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1978); Pamela Kyle Crossley, "The Rulerships of China," *American Historical Review* 97: 5 (December 1992), 1468–83; and James Hevia, *Cherishing Men From Afar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), especially ch. 1.

[23] It took a few years for the court to establish nomination procedures: company captains were to recommend women for the *jingbiao* to banner commanders, who then passed the names on to the Board of Rites. *Da Qing Huidian shili* (Collected Institutes and Precedents of the Qing) (1899 ed.) (hereafter DQHDSL) 1145: 20a–b.

[24] *Shizu shilu* 72: 4a–b; *Donghua lu* 4: 31b–32a; *Da Qing Shengzu ren (Kangxi) huangdi shilu* (Veritable Records of the emperor Shengzu) (hereafter *Shengzu shilu*) 43: 7b–8a; DQHDSL 138: 2a–3b. As Norman Kutcher has found, however, even for Han officials, the mourning standard was eventually compromised in some significant ways under the Qing. Norman A. Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

in the banners.[25] Nor, as we shall see, did it treat men and women the same. Thus, while Manchu women might be singled out for their virtue, Manchu men rarely were. As we shall see, much more important for them were the values of "masculine virtue" and associated warrior ways. These gaps between Qing rhetoric and practice caution us to be suspicious of the Confucian overlay of the jingbiao project as it pertained to those in the Eight Banners.[26]

Before going on to discuss the cult of the virtuous widow in the Eight Banners in more detail, let us first review a breakdown of the statistics concerning meritorious bannerwomen.

These tables help to illustrate three general points. First, when we look at the pattern in widow suicides (Table 2.1), we find a precipitous drop in numbers by the early eighteenth century. Whereas nearly 200 widows were commended for committing suicide in the seventeenth century (all but 3 of the suicides in the Kangxi reign [1662–1722] came before 1681), only 5 were recognized during the Yongzheng reign (1723–1735) and none thereafter.

Second, these statistics show a consistent preference for awarding jingbiao to Manchu bannerwomen over women of the Mongol and Han martial banners. In all reigns, Manchu women account for the majority of awards in both categories (widow suicide and chaste widowhood, Tables 2.1 and 2.2), and walked away with almost 60 percent of all jingbiao during the 143-year period we are talking about (Table 2.3). In fact, the percentage was actually slightly higher than this, since among women in bondservant and Imperial Household Department companies was a large number of ethnic Manchus. We lack precise numbers, but it would be fair to say that at least one-half of the 4 percent commended under the *booi* bondservant category in Table 2.3 were Manchu women. This raises the total of Manchu jingbiao to 62 percent of the total. Only about 17 percent of jingbiao went to Mongol bannerwomen, with the remainder going to women in the Chinese banners or female Han bondservants.

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[25] The illusion of equal treatment of Han and Manchu in officialdom is discussed in Raymond Chu and William Saywell, *Career Patterns in the Ch'ing Dynasty: The Office of Governor General* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1984), 47; see also Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 35; and Lawrence Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule, 1661–1664* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 117 ff.

[26] More on the political, legal, social, and economic inequalities that obtained between Han Chinese and banner populations is found in my book, *The Manchu Way.*

Table 2.1. Widow Suicides in the Eight Banners, 1653–1795

Commendation →		(Window suicide/ "Following-in-death" (xunsi)				
Reign period ↓		Manchu	bond-servants	Mongol	Han-martial	EB Sub-total
Shunzhi		85	7	0	0	92
	%	92%	8%	—	—	100%
Kangxi		73	19	7	2	101
	%	72%	19%	7%	2%	100%
Yongzheng		4	0	0	1	5
	%	80%	—	—	20%	100%
Qianlong		0	0	0	0	0
	%	—	—	—	—	—
Totals		162	26	7	3	198
	%	82%	13%	3.5%	1.5%	100%

Source: *Baqi tongzhi* (*chuji*), *juan* 240–50 and *Qinding baqi tongzhi, juan* 241–69.

Table 2.2. Chaste Widows in the Eight Banners, 1653–1795

Commendation →		Chaste widow (shoujie) 201 years				
Reign period ↓		Manchu	bond-servants	Mongol	Han-martial	EB Sub-total
Shunzhi		108	30	1	3	142
	%	76%	21%	1%	2%	100%
Kangxi		863	96	408	302	1,669
	%	52%	6%	24%	18%	100%
Yongzheng		538	205	161	319	1,223
	%	44%	17%	13%	26%	100%
Qianlong		7,636	238	2,028	2,500	12,402
	%	62%	2%	16%	20%	100%
Totals		9,145	569	2,598	3,124	15,436
	%	59%	4%	17%	20%	100%

Source for Table 2.2: *Baqi tongzhi (chuji), juan* 240–50 and *Qinding baqi tongzhi, juan* 241–69.

Third, we find an explosive increase in the number of virtuous widows in the Qianlong reign (Table 2.3). Nearly 80 percent of all bannerwomen cited for jingbiao recognition were cited during the 60 years between 1736 and 1795, and they were cited for refraining from remarriage, not for committing suicide. That the total number of women so honored by Qianlong was more than 10 times the number honored by his father is perhaps not so surprising, since Yongzheng ruled for only 13 years, and since the Qianlong era was a time of ballooning statistics of all sorts. But that the number should be 7 times greater than those honored by the Kangxi emperor, who ruled 1 year *longer* than Qianlong, suggests that larger changes were at work.

These three general observations—the decline in widow suicide, the statistical dominance of Manchu women, and the chaste widow "boom" in the second two-thirds of the eighteenth century—are taken up in the sections that follow. Regarding the sudden decline of widow suicide, I suggest in the following section that, mainly for political reasons, official attitudes toward widow suicide changed dramatically in the early 1700s. For, as I demonstrate, Manchu widow suicide did not mimic Chinese practice at all but continued an Altaic custom that carried inconvenient reminders of the Manchus' "barbarian" past. Indeed, the Manchu distaste for widow suicide generally may well have owed to its associations with a custom that, because of its own ethnic insecurities, the court was anxious to cover up. The preponderance of Manchu women in all jingbiao categories is addressed in the succeeding discussion on remarriage and the ideal of the "chaste widow." In analyzing this and the Qianlong chaste widow "boom," I suggest that ethnopolitical motives figured significantly in the selection of all virtuous bannerwomen but that the shift from an ambivalent position on widow remarriage to a position opposing it reflected not just political, but institutional and cultural changes as well. I will take up these questions in order.

The Manchus and Widow Suicide

Widow suicide, what the Manchus called "following-in-death" (Ma., *dahame bucembi*; literally, "to die following"), was common enough in the early Qing period. The deaths of the first two Qing khans, Nurhaci (r. 1616–25) and Hong Taiji (r. 1626–43), were each marked by the suicides of 2 lesser consorts. Nurhaci's death was also the occasion for the apparently reluctant suicide of his main wife, the empress Xiaolie.[27] When Manggultai, a son of Nurhaci, died in 1633, his wife "followed" him, too, while the death in battle of Prince Yoto in 1638 served as the occasion for his wife's suicide soon thereafter. This practice persisted after the conquest, as shown by the 1649 suicide of a secondary wife of Dodo, a leading general. The death of another general, Jirgalang, in 1655 occasioned the deaths of 5 of his wives, 1 of whom was only 14 years old at the time; and when the distinguished general Nikan died in 1660, 2 wives committed suicide.[28] Furthermore, statistics for the Qing imperial household show an unusually high incidence of widows dying in the same year as their husbands.[29] As these examples indicate, "following-in-death," while not restricted to the élite, was, like Han widow suicide, probably more common in prominent households, though this may only reflect the incompleteness of our sources.

Table 2.3. All virtuous widows in the Eight Banners, 1653–1795

Reign period ↓		Both types of commendation				TOTALS (all reigns, both types of commendation)
		Manchu	bond-servants	Mongol	Han-martial	
Shunzhi		193	37	1	3	234
	%	82.5%	16%	.5%	1%	15.0%
Kangxi		936	115	415	304	1,770
	%	53%	6.5%	23.5%	17%	11.3%
Yongzheng		542	205	161	320	1,228
	%	44%	17%	13%	26%	7.9%
Qianlong		7,636	238	2,028	2,500	12,402
	%	61.5%	2%	16.5%	20%	79.3%
TOTALS (all reigns, both types of commendation)		9,307	595	2,605	3,127	15,634
	%	59.5%	4%	16.5%	20%	100%

Source for Table 2.3: *Baqi tongzhi (chuji), juan* 240–50 and *Qinding baqi tongzhi, juan* 241–69.

The Manchu rulers were deeply ambivalent about the moral value of widow suicide. Hesitancy on this score can be traced as far back as 1634, when the second Qing khan, Hong Taiji, tried to limit its frequency.[30] After the 1644 conquest of China, the official position on widow suicide for Han women changed more than once, moving from initial (cautious) approval to disapproval after 1688 and back again to approval in 1851.[31] The dislike of the Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors for the practice was well known at the time. The introduction to the section on virtuous women in the *General History of the Eight Banners*, published in 1736, mentions the view that widows who committed suicide exhibited a light regard for life, reflecting the content of separate edicts of 1688, 1728, and 1735.[32] At the same time, however, the editors of the *General History* stressed the role of women in the "civilizing process" (Ch., *wanghua*), noting with pride that

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[27] Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943–44): 303–4.

[28] These examples are all drawn from *Baqi tongzhi* (*chuji*) (General History of the Eight Banners, first edition) (hereafter BQTZ) (Changchun: Dongbei shifan xueyuan chubanshe, 1985), 239: 5366.

[29] Liu Sufen, "Qingdai huangzu hunyin" ("Marriage in the Qing imperial lineage"), in Li Zhongqing [James Lee] and Guo Songyi, eds., *Qingdai huangzu renkou xingwei he shehui huanjing* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1994), 108. Liu's explanation is that this is the result of "wartime chaos" in the early Qing and does not reflect a high incidence of widow suicide. But she does not seem to be aware of the existence of the Altaic tradition of "following-in-death."

> At the end of every year [the cases of] virtuous women are collected and reported to the throne. At the ceremonies [awarding] the *jingbiao* tablets, none surpass the Eight Banners. Those who follow in death are particularly numerous.[33]

It is not hard to find the contradictions in the position taken by the *General History* editors. On the one hand, they proclaimed that widow suicide was evidence of outstanding virtue in women and that in this type of lofty expression no one outshone women in the Eight Banners. (The statistics above show, of course, that they really meant Manchu women.) On the other hand, by including imperial edicts frowning on the practice, they acknowledged the view that widow suicide was abhorrent and displayed a lack of respect for life. These contradictions help explain the sudden drop in jingbiao suicides (from 92 and 101 in the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns, respectively, to 5 in the Yongzheng reign and zero in the Qianlong reign), while at the same time Manchu widow suicides continued to be reported in the 1730s and even the 1750s, even if they were technically no longer deemed worthy of the jingbiao testimonial and were not recorded in the *General History*.[34]

Ambivalence toward widow suicide was nothing new in the eighteenth century. Mark Elvin demonstrated a "conflict between fidelity and filiality" in Chinese attitudes at least by the Ming, and Mann detailed it further for the early Qing.[35] But the source of this ambivalence was different for the Manchus. When it came to suicide among Han widows, the issue had mainly to do with the uneasy place suicide occupied within a Confucian order in which filiality imposed a duty to preserve and respect one's body as a gift from one's parents. "Treating life lightly" (Ch., *qingsheng*) was a serious ritual transgression. The suicides of Manchu widows, on the other hand, sent a message of another nature, for the reason that their suicides represented the continuation of an older Inner Asian custom, unrelated to Confucian practice. Once this point is grasped, we can see that the posthumous awarding of jingbiao distinctions to Manchu women in the early Qing amounted to little more than a Confucian whitewash of "barbarian" Manchu ways and that, more than anything, discouraging a "barbarian" practice like following-in-death represented a politically wise choice for the court.

There are a number of ways to get beneath this Confucian whitewash. One is to go back to the tabulation of widow suicides in Table 2.1. It was mentioned earlier that Manchu women accounted for over 60 percent of all jingbiao awards in the first century and a half of Qing rule. But in the category of widow suicide the predominance of Manchu women was even more overwhelming—almost 90 percent, if one assigns a portion of the bondservant figures to the Manchu column. The minuscule number of jingbiao awards to Chinese bannerwomen in this category is especially striking. Within ten years of the conquest, the Chinese banners had become the most populous of the three ethnic divisions of the Eight Banner system and, for most of the period between 1650 and 1750, represented approximately one-half of the entire banner population (excluding the bondservant companies), while Manchus comprised about one-third of the total, and Mongols roughly one-sixth.[36] Yet Chinese banner women accounted for just 1.5 percent of the awards for widow suicide.

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[30] Ding Yizhuang, "Qingdai Manzu funü 'xunjie' qianxi" (Brief analysis of Manchu 'widow suicide' in the Qing), in *Shang Hongkui jiaoshou shishi shizhounian jinian lunwenji* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995), 184, citing *Qingchu neiguoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian* (Translated Compilation of Manchu Archives of the Early Qing Historical Office) [hereafter QNMDY], (Beijing: Guangming chubanshe, 1989), vol. 1, 61 (item dated 1634). See also BQTZ 239: 5366. Following-in-death by servants was formally outlawed in 1673. Zheng Tianting, "Manzhou ruguan qianhou jizhong lisu zhi bianqian" (Changes in various Manchu customs before and after the conquest), *Tanweiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 [1945]), 77. Evelyn Rawski, however, notes that this custom continued, at least for imperial funerals. Rawski, "The Imperial Way of Death," in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 242. This would seem to be supported by the unconfirmed story that the Qianlong emperor was buried together with a Han woman, presumably a palace servant. Gao Hongxing, *Chanzu shi* (A History of Footbinding) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 27.

[31] Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 127–9.

[32] These are cited in Ding, "Qingdai Manzu funü," 186–7; Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 128–29, quotes from the 1728 edict at some length.

[33] BQTZ 239: 5365.

[34] I note Manchu widow suicides at least as late as 1753. *Da Qing chun (Qianlong) gaozong huangdi shilu* (Veritable Records of the emperor Gaozong) [hereafter *Gaozong shilu*] 429: 33b.

[35] Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 138–146, and Mann, *Precious Records*, 24–25.

Given the subordination of the Chinese to the Manchu and Mongol divisions in the Eight Banner hierarchy, it is not surprising to find that here, as elsewhere, the Chinese banners got the short end of the stick.[37] But that the proportions should be so lopsided hints that more than the usual intra-banner ethnic politics was at work here, especially since the Chinese banners were still relatively less removed from the cultural norms of mainstream Han society. One might logically expect them to have accepted widow suicide more readily. The total dominance of Manchu and bondservant women, to the virtual exclusion of all other groups, in the widow suicide category is evidence that the behavior being rewarded here almost certainly did not result from the overnight embrace by Manchu women of a practice that even diehard Confucians were less than enthusiastic about. Far more likely, Manchu widow suicide was the continuation of an Inner Asian custom unrelated to Confucian practice.

A second way to get beneath the Confucian whitewash on widow suicide is to look closely at who committed suicide and when. Here we see that where Chinese tended to limit the commission of suicide to widows, the Manchus did not. For instance, the death of the master (or mistress) of a Manchu household might mean that not only wives, but servants, too, would follow him (or her) into the next world. Hence, when his secondary consort died in 1603, Nurhaci ordered 4 female servants to commit suicide to accompany her.[38] The death of Prince Dudu in 1642 resulted in one of his servant women hanging herself;[39] and, when the regent Dorgon died in 1651, he was followed in death by a female servant. A very famous case involved the Shunzhi emperor's beloved consort, surnamed Donggo, who died in 1660. The broken-hearted monarch, only 23 at the time, is said to have ordered a number of palace maids and eunuchs to kill themselves when she died.[40] Interestingly, his own death less than 5 months later was reportedly marked by the voluntary suicide of a member of the imperial vanguard. As this incident and the suicides of 2 male adjutants upon Hong Taiji's demise indicate, the Manchu custom was more inclusive than contemporary widow suicide among the Chinese, since not only female, but even male followers formally outside the household might also opt to end their lives with the death of their patron, despite the formal limitation of following-in-death to wives and servants.[41] One might interpret the suicide of the servant Gem following her mistress' death in Chapter 13 of the eighteenth-century novel, *Story of the Stone*, as evidence of the survival of this old banner practice into the eighteenth century.[42]

That servants and others regularly participated in Manchu "following-in-death" is another indicator that suicide upon the death of another person occurred in a cultural and social context that carried different meanings for the Manchus than ostensibly a similar practice did among the Chinese.[43] Even when Chinese servants killed themselves on the death of their master or mistress, as sometimes happened, it was the principle of filiality that was seen to be served, if by a surrogate.[44] This was not the case when the emperor's guardsman followed his master to the grave: Manchu following-in-death here fit not Confucian ideas of filiality but Altaic notions of loyalty and death.

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[36] An Shuangcheng, "Shunzhi chao baqi nanding manwen dang'an xuanyi" (Selected translations from Manchu archives of the Shunzhi reign on the number of able-bodied males), *Manxue yanjiu* 1 (1992), 415–21.

[37] Still, when compared to Han women, Han martial women received preferential treatment. In honor of his mother, the Qianlong emperor in 1750 ordered imperial honors for longevity bestowed on all the women in the empire. Civilian Chinese women had to be over 80 to qualify, while bannerwomen (Manchu, Mongol, and Han martial alike) only had to be over 70 to be recognized (*Gaozong shilu* 370: 10a–b).

[38] The daughter of the Yehe chieftain Yangginu, she was canonized by her son, Hong Taiji, as Empress Xiaoci. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 1, 303, 598.

[39] QNMDY vol. 1: 477.

[40] Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*: 302; Rawski, "The Imperial Way of Death," 250.

[41] QNMDY vol. 1: 61.

[42] "News was suddenly brought that Qin-shi's little maid Gem, on hearing that her mistress was dead, had taken her own life by dashing her head against a pillar. Such rare devotion excited the admiration of the entire clan" (Cao Xueqin, *Story of the Stone*, David Hawkes, trans. [Penguin, 1973], 261).

[43] It is perhaps worth recalling here that the physical destruction of widows is observed in many different cultures throughout history and that there is no inherent reason to assume any organic connection between Chinese practices and the practices of other Asian peoples. Again, if one compares Chinese widow suicide with suttee, one can find numerous similarities (isolation and marginalization of the widow, pressure from the husband's family concerned with economic gain and social prestige) but a completely different religious context. When the Indian widow who was considered polluting committed herself to the flames of her husband's funeral pyre, she was transformed, becoming *sati* (pure) and capable of assuring her husband's spiritual well-being and passage into paradise. See V.N. Datta, *Sati: A Historical, Social, and Philosophical Inquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 209. This is obviously far removed from the Confucian view, which, though it lauded widow suicide, generally preferred widows to remain alive to care for their children and serve as examples of public morality. See Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 127–8.

[44] Ibid., 127.

A Martyr's Death?

A third way to penetrate beneath the Confucianizing veneer applied to Manchu widow suicide is to compare the terms for the practice in the two languages. Doing so puts Manchu following-in-death in the separate context of Inner Asian practices that were quite distinct in their origins from Chinese norms.

What I have been calling up to now "following-in-death" is normally called *xunsi* or *xunzang* in Chinese-language sources such as the *General History of the Eight Banners* or the *Veritable Records of the Qing*. Because the great majority of the business touching on the Eight Banners (and much else besides) was originally transacted in Manchu—an Altaic language wholly unrelated to Chinese—we can be sure that many passages in these and other historical materials for the early Qing period, including the descriptions of virtuous widows, were translated into Chinese from Manchu. If one were to assume that the Chinese terms *xunsi* and *xunzang* meant exactly the same thing as the Manchu term *dahame bucembi*, then translation between the two languages would be straightforward enough. But the terms are not the same. *Xun* can mean several things, most commonly "to die for a cause" or "to martyr oneself."[45] These meanings are not found in dahame bucembi.

Actually, early occurrences of xun in Chinese texts indicate a meaning for the word that is close to dahame bucembi.[46] The pre-Qin (that is, before the late third century BCE) *Li ji, Zuo zhuan*, and *Zhanguo ce* all contain examples of *xun* in the sense of "following-in-death." Significantly, it is not always the wife who is mentioned as "following," nor is it clear that those who "follow" commit suicide. Archaeological evidence from the Neolithic era indicates that accompanying-in-death as an aspect of Chinese royal funerals seems to have had more to do with the practice of human sacrifice in the Shang imperial cult than with any voluntary "following" of the deceased.[47] Second-century CE commentators on the *Li ji* understood *xun* to mean killing someone in order to protect the deceased in the afterlife. The sixth-century *Yu pian* also spoke of xun as "using people to send off the dead," a meaning still provided in the seventeenth-century *Peiwen yunfu* dictionary. This sense of *xun* is manifestly quite close to the sense of the Manchu *dahame bucembi*. But this xun is not what we mean when we talk about the heroic widow.

The other meaning of xun, that is, xun as martyr, is nearly as old. Basing itself on the pre-Qin *Zhuangzi*, the same sixth-century *Yu pian* gives another definition of *xun* as "giving up one's life on behalf of another," and the *Han shu* (first century CE) contains the expression *xun guo*, meaning "to die for one's country."[48] By at least the third century CE the phrase *xunjie* emerged, the suffix *jie* implying that dying on behalf of someone or something was a moral act deserving of admiration (and emulation).[49] It is this sense of xun as "noble sacrifice" that eventually predominated in the language, particularly after the eleventh century, when Song Neo-Confucianists got hold of the notion of fidelity. By the fourteenth century, a woman's loyalty to her husband, though strictly speaking a form of filiality, was indissolubly paired with a man's loyalty to his ruler and official honors for faithful widows began to be routinized through the jingbiao system of rewarding merit.[50]

By the seventeenth century, when the *Ming History* was written, the connotations of martyrdom had been firmly fixed in the word for at least 500 years. Wherever xun appears in that text (and it appears often), it refers to the heroic death of either a man or a woman in the name of upright fidelity, frequently to the doomed Ming cause. We find there terms such as righteous martyrdom (Ch., *xunyi*), faithful martyrdom (Ch., *xunzhong*), martyrdom for the dynasty (Ch., *xunguo, xunnan*), martyr's death (Ch., *xunsi*), or just plain martyrdom (Ch., *xun*). Indeed, so much had xun come to be identified with the sense of self-sacrifice for a greater cause that the other, plainer sense of "to follow in death," "to be buried with the dead," was virtually lost, at least in talking about the Han Chinese.[51] For this reason, when the state wished to recognize and ennoble widow suicide as an act embodying the highest Confucian convictions, xun by itself was no longer serviceable. Instead the official Chinese phrase came to be the pleonastic *congxun*, meaning literally "to follow follow-in-death," but more likely understood at the time as meaning something like "to follow-die as a martyr."[52]

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[45] See the entries in the *Kangxi zidian* and *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*; also *Hanyu da cidian*.

[46] My search for occurrences of *xun* in Chinese historical texts has been immeasurably facilitated by the enormous computerized database of Chinese classics established and maintained by the Academia Sinica, Taiwan. This incredible resource is available gratis to the scholarly community at http://www.sinica.edu.tw. I owe everyone involved in that project an enormous debt of thanks.

[47] David N. Keightley, "Early Civilization in China: Reflections on How it Became Chinese," in Paul S. Ropp, ed., *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 28–31.

[48] *Han shu, liezhuan, juan* 54.

[49] *Sanguo zhi*, "Wei shu" *juan* 10.

[50] Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 112, 121–3; Birge, "Levirate Marriage," 109, 145–6; Katherine Carlitz, "Shrines, Governing-Class Identity, and the Cult of Widow Fidelity in Mid-Ming Jiangnan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56: 3 (August 1997), 613.

[51] It is no accident that, between the Tang and the Qing, it is primarily in accounts of non-Han peoples that we see xun used in Chinese texts with the alternate, un-Confucian meaning of "to be buried with the dead." Confucian teaching had never been very comfortable with the idea of suicide, even for as noble a cause as fidelity to a deceased husband. By

In rendering the histories of early Qing women from Manchu into Chinese, it was only natural for translators schooled in the appropriate language for virtuous widows to resort to xun to describe their suicides. But when we look at the way that Manchu widow suicides are spoken of in the Manchu language, we can easily see the problem in thinking of them as xun-suicides in the Confucian sense. Instead of the heroic xun, Manchu texts use the simple phrase, *dahame bucembi.*[53] *This expression, as noted, was closer to the older sense of xun, meaning "to follow in death," but lacked the implication of martyrdom so important in the neologism, congxun.* The unadorned Manchu phraseology is the best indication that these suicides belonged to a different cultural milieu and were not the acts of martyrs obeying Confucian notions of loyalty.

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the time of the *New Tang History*, or even the early ninth-century *Tongdian*, where in *juan* 86 we find the comment that "to be buried with the dead is not proper," a reaction against widow suicide among the Han had set in; after this time, about the only occurrences of *xun* in the histories are in descriptions of "barbarian" customs. Only with the *Ming History* does the term enjoy a comeback, when it is used to describe the defenders of Yangzhou and other martyrs of the Ming cause.

[52] I would hypothesize that this word, which we might translate as "following-in-death martyrdom," is a Qing neologism; I cannot find it attested before the Qing period. It does not appear in the *Peiwen yunfu.*

[53] It is difficult to trace very many examples of the occurrence of this term. The sole attestation I have been able to find comes from the Manchu original of the *Nei guoshiyuan Manwen dang'an*, records that cover the years 1627–43. The term appears in the entry for the seventh year of Chongde, ninth month, second day (September 25, 1642) in a case prosecuting the widow of the deceased *beile* Dudu, suspected of having forced a servant girl to commit suicide in her place. The text reads, in part, "*doroi elehun beilei sula hehe. beile akû ofi emu biya oho manggi wasime bucehebi. ere turgunde fujin be si hafirahai bucehebi. unenggi dahame buceci beilei sasa bucembidere.*" (One month after the prince died, a female servant of the *doroi elehun beile* [that is, Prince Dudu], killed herself by hanging. For this reason, the wife [was interrogated], "You pressured her into dying. If she had really [wanted to] follow-die the *beile*, she would have died with [him]" [that is, not have waited one month before doing so]). Though the death penalty could be ordered for this crime, the guilty wife was sentenced to three days' confinement without food. The Chinese translation of this passage may be found in QNMDY, vol. 1, 477. My thanks to Nakami Tatsuo for making photocopies of the original Manchu documents available to me. The appearance of the Chinese word *congsi* (follow, die), and not any xun compound in the very first mentions of widow suicide in the *General History* strongly implies that dahame bucembi was the Manchu phrase being translated here. See BQTZ 240: 5383, 5386.

The Altaic Way of Death

By now we have stripped away most of the Confucian veneer that was applied to Manchu widow suicide. The different factors we have been considering—the Manchu monopoly on widow suicide commendations, the greater inclusivity of Manchu following-in-death, and the nuances of the Manchu term for the practice—come together when we put following-in-death and the widow's fate in the larger context of Altaic funeral practice, to which it properly belonged.

Though there are similarities between them, the existence of an Inner Asian funerary culture independent of the Chinese tradition is not in dispute by scholars. Moreover, the place of following-in-death in the Inner Asian tradition is well documented not just in Chinese sources but in European and Persian sources as well, which provides some reassurance that the Chinese descriptions we have are not overly distorted by the contemptuous prejudice so often displayed by the Han for the inferior Other.[54] Ethnographic reports in the *History of the Later Han* claimed that among the inhabitants of ancient Manchuria, the death of one individual could result in the killing of as many as 100 people, who would be buried together with him.[55] The eleventh-century *New Tang History* tells that when a Turkish chief died, two of his closest associates killed themselves to follow him.[56] Records of the Jin-dynasty Jurchen indicate that when a man died, his most favored slaves might be chosen to accompany him.[57] Perhaps the best-known example of following-in-death involves one that never happened. When A-bao-ji (r. 907–926), the founder of the alien Liao dynasty (916–1122) died, pressure was put on his empress, Yingtian (d. 953), to obey Khitan custom and follow him to his tomb. She refused on the grounds that she needed to remain alive to care for her young sons. Instead, she cut off her right hand and placed it in her husband's coffin.[58]

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[54] For a detailed survey of Altaic funeral practices based primarily on European and Persian sources, see Jean-Paul Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963).

[55] *Hou Han shu, juan* 85. The same report makes note of the levirate.

[56] *Xin Tang shu, juan* 195–197.

[57] Song Dejin, "Jindai Niizhen zusu shulun" (A description of the customs of the Jin Jurchen), in *Liao-Jin shilun wenji* (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1985), 482; Zhao Zhan, *Manzu wenhua yu zongjiao yanjiu* (Manchu Culture and Religion) (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 1993), 323–4.

[58] This anecdote is related in the *Liao History* and in other contemporary records, along with accounts of attendants buried with later Liao emperors. See Karl Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907–1125* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical

Apart from providing company for the deceased by burying him with people who had been close to him in life, it was a frequent custom among Altaic peoples to send the dead off with a number of familiar possessions. Thus, the *Liao History* relates that upon the death of the emperor Shengzong (r. 983–1030), his bows and arrows, saddles, and bridles were all burned, and his falcons set free.[59] When a Jurchen male died, apart from food offerings, his horse might also be killed, and his saddle and other personal possessions buried with him.[60]

Similar practices are remarked for the Mongols, who believed that the spirit of the deceased, rode his horse up to heaven.[61] As for the Manchus, an early seventeenth-century Jesuit wrote that they "burned the women, servants, horses, and arms of the deceased," to ensure that familiar company and belongings accompanied the deceased for his journey to "heaven" (Ma., *abka*).[62] In 1627 Hong Taiji made an effort to outlaw incineration of the possessions of the deceased and burial with a horse—probably for economic reasons.[63] (As we have seen, he sometimes sought to dissuade widows from suiciding, but did not prohibit them from doing so.)

It is safe to say that the funerary practices the Manchus brought with them when they conquered China, including but not limited to following-in-death, represented an extension of practices shared with other non-Han peoples of Inner Asia like the Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongols.[64] These customs suggest that sacrifices were intended to furnish the dead with the provisions they would need in the next world. According to notions of the afterlife that dominated across the Altaic world, this was a world identical to the world of the living,[65] except that it was usually spoken of as existing in the sky, in contrast with Chinese expressions to "follow someone into the ground."[66] The following-in-death of the principal wife, while not universally observed among Altaic peoples,[67] was linked to the

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Society, 1949), 200, 254, 258; also Denis Twitchett and Herbert Franke, eds., *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, vol. 7 of *The Cambridge History of China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 68.

[59] Wittfogel and Feng, *Liao*, 262–3.

[60] Song, "Jindai Niizhen zusu shulun," 482; Zhao, *Manzu wenhua yu zongjiao yanjiu*, 323–4.

[61] Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), 106. Note the testimony of one thirteenth-century traveler: "And they bury with him a mare and her foal and a horse with bridle and saddle, and another horse they eat and fill its skin with straw, and this they stick up on two or four poles, so that in the next world he may have a dwelling in which to make his abode and a mare to provide him with milk, and that he may be able to increase his horses and have horses on which to ride" (John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* [New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955], 12–13). Excavations of Tuvan graves from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries show that horse and saddle were buried together with the deceased, along with various other objects (axes, knives, pipes) (V.P. Diakonova, *Pogrebal'nyi obriad Tuvintsev kak istoriko-etnograficheskii istochnik* [Leningrad: Nauka, 1975], 19–20). Among the Daur Mongols even today, killing a horse, "one of the deceased much-used animals," still forms part of funerary practice. The idea is that the animal is "the soul's mount on its journey to the other world." Some of the horse's meat is buried with the coffin. In addition, objects of practical use as well as the departed's favorite possessions are also buried with him, and his clothes burned. See Caroline Humphrey, with Urgunge Onon, *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 194–5.

[62] Evidence that the dead were thought to rise to heaven is taken from an undated Manchu memorial of the Yongzheng reign in which the writer (Necin, a member of the imperial clan) expresses his grief at hearing that the empress had "ascended to heaven" (Ma., *abka de wesike*). *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 258, memorial of Necin, n.d. This and all unpublished Manchu and Chinese palace memorials cited in the notes are from the holdings of the First Historical Archives, Beijing. Published Chinese palace memorials are noted by volume number and either document or page number.

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[63] *Da Qing Taizong wen huangdi shilu* (Veritable Records of the emperor Taizong) 4: 2a–b, cited in Zhao, *Manzu wenhua yu zongjiao yanjiu*, 328.

[64] Thus I am in agreement with the assertions found in Zheng Tianting, "Manzhou ruguan qianhou," 76–77; and Mo Dongyin, *Manzushi luncong* (Collected essays on Manchu history) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1958): 143–4. I recognize that some of these practices and beliefs share similarities with "Chinese" traditions. By placing them in an Altaic continuum, I do not mean to categorically exclude the possibility of cross-cultural influence and borrowing, only to suggest that, like Manchu shamanism, it is historically more appropriate to view these practices in an Inner Asian framework.

[65] John Andrew Boyle, "The Thirteenth-Century Mongols' Conception of the After Life: The Evidence of their Funerary Practices," in his *The Mongol World Empire* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), ch. 23: 6. Note also the line from the seventh-century Orkhon inscriptions, "In heaven, you will be as among the living." Cited in Jean-Paul Roux, "La veuve dans les sociétés turques et mongoles de l'Asie centrale," *L'Homme* 9: 4 (October–December 1969), 58.

[66] Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 127.

[67] Whether the Mongols practiced following-in-death is questioned by some (Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Society and Culture*, 106), but evidence to support the contention that they did is substantial. According to the Persian chroniclers Juwayni and Vassaf, human companions were buried together with Chinggis, Ögödei, and Hülegü. See V.V. Barthold, "The Burial Rites of the Turks and the Mongols," J.M. Rogers, trans., *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14 (1970), 207–8. Armenian chronicles of the Mongol conquests also note that "if it was one of their great men, they laid some of his men-servants and maid-servants with him in the tomb, because, they said, they might wait on him, and also a horse, because, they said, there would be fierce fighting there." Another Persian historian, Juzjani (1193–1260), wrote about the funeral of Batu that "they buried him in conformity with Mughal custom . . . they place [in the tomb] vessels and numerous effects together with his arms and weapons, and whatever may have been his own private property, and some of his wives, and slaves, male or female, and the person he loved most above all others." See John Andrew Boyle, "The Thirteenth-Century Mongols' Conception of the After Life" and "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," both collected in *The Mongol World Empire*, ch. 23: 7–8 and ch. 19: 203–4. Even as late as the sixteenth century, before their conversion to Buddhism, Mongols reportedly still killed the slaves and favorite concubines of the deceased, along with his horse. Roux (citing Serruys), "La veuve," 61.

belief that death was only the temporary separation of a couple and that a woman always belonged to her first husband and his family. Since she would eventually be reunited with him in the afterlife, following-in-death simply speeded up the inevitable reunion.[68]

Joseph Fletcher made the case that persistent signs of tribal organization in the empires built by the nomadic Mongols and Turks could be read in patterns of succession and modes of rulership, exemplified by "bloody tanistry" (that is, life-and-death competition between brothers for the throne) and "personalized monarchy."[69] The tradition outlined above suggests that a specific body of funeral customs, including, but not limited to, following-in-death, might also have been part of a larger Turco-Mongolian imperial pattern, an Altaic way of death.[70] Like "bloody tanistry" and "personalized monarchy," which were usually significantly modified, once a tribal organization took control of an agrarian empire, one would expect to find that the Altaic "way of death" eventually conformed to the more bureaucratic practices of the sedentary groups they governed.

Indeed, following-in-death among the Manchus did undergo such a transformation, which came with the use of widow suicide as a common platform upon which a widow's virtues could be celebrated in the Qing, regardless of her ethnicity. Ignoring the different cultural traditions underlying Manchu following-in-death and Chinese widow suicide, the celebration of Manchu widows' suicides by Manchu rulers who put xun-suicides into a Confucian context when they were written down in the *Veritable Records* and the *General History* shows that, in Chinese anyway, the transvaluation of Manchu widow suicide was well underway when the practice of widow suicide began to be more strenuously discouraged in the Kangxi reign. The transformation was complete by the second century of Qing rule, when it seems to have disappeared altogether, supplanted by the new cult of widow chastity.

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[68] Ibid., 57–58.

[69] Joseph Fletcher, "Turco-Mongolian Monarchic Tradition in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia* (Variorum, 1995), ch. 7.

[70] I say "might" because I have not found any evidence of following-in-death among Ottoman funeral practices, which one would expect if the tradition were truly Turco-Mongolian in the sense in which Fletcher spoke of it. However, scholars have remarked on the presence of horses at the funerals of Ottoman rulers, which, though they were not buried together with the deceased, connoted a direct tie to Altaic customs. See Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, "Les obsèques des sultans Ottomans," in Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Les Ottomans et la mort* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 211. See also J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaiques*.

What we are left with, then, is a two-part process by which Manchu widow suicide was first masked as Confucian practice and later abandoned completely. But the process may actually have been slightly more complex. If we acknowledge that ethnic politics figured importantly in the treatment of Manchu and Han widows alike, then dressing "uncivilized" practices like following-in-death in Confucian garb, while a step in the right direction, did not go far enough. From the Manchu point of view, it was better to discourage the practice altogether rather than risk unfavorable associations with the sordid side of an earlier practice. A few Chinese writers in the Qing were, in fact, aware of the Altaic origins of the following-in-death suicides.[71] By discouraging widow suicide for Han widows at the same time—on Confucian grounds, no less—the Manchu court made it almost impossible to determine whether the real target was Manchu following-in-death or Chinese widow suicide. Nonetheless, it seems that the discouragement of suicide for all widows in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was linked not just to objections on philosophical grounds or changing sensibilities toward death in the eighteenth century but to Manchu ethnic concerns, too.[72]

If this is true, it would not be the first time that non-Han practices directly affected existing Chinese norms. Research by Bettine Birge shows that in spite of their hard-line reputations, even the leading Song neo-Confucianist philosophers adopted a fairly flexible position on the issue of widow remarriage and that the real change in Chinese practices came only in the early 1300s under the Yuan dynasty (1215–1368). At that time, the Mongols, used to thinking of women and their dowries as household property, rewrote laws to make it virtually impossible for a woman to leave the household of her first marriage, thereby creating a strong disincentive for her to remarry. From this, Birge concludes that the consequent rise in widow chastity, long assumed to be simply the result of imposing neo-Confucian norms, in fact was tied directly to the "confusing encounter between Chinese and Mongol culture."[73] The decline of widow suicide and concomitant rise of widow fidelity may, I think, very well owe something to another "confusing encounter," this one between Chinese and Manchu culture.

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[71] Wang Shizhen, *Chibei outan* (Random Chats by the North of the Pond) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 [ca. 1689]): 1: 24; Chen Kangqi, *Langqian jiwen chubi erbi sanbi* (Notes of Things Heard by a Retired Official) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984 [1880]): 3: 2, 674.

[72] On the subject of death and mourning in the Qing, see Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*.

[73] Birge, "Levirate Marriage."

Remarriage Among Banner Widows

The preceding discussion of Manchu attitudes toward widow suicide has addressed two of the three general points raised earlier, that is, the reasons for the apparent sharp decrease in the frequency of widow suicide and the true nature and origins of the practice among Manchu women, who dominated the jingbiao awards in this category. In this and the following section, I shall take up the third point, the question of the chaste widow "boom" in the Qianlong era, raised in connection with the figures in Table 2.2.

As explained above, the vigorous promotion of the principle of loyalty by Song neo-Confucianists, abetted by the rewriting of property laws under the Mongol Yuan dynasty, meant that by the fourteenth century, remarriage, common enough still in the Song, was increasingly rare.[74] Fidelity to one's departed husband came to be regarded as the only proper choice for the Han widow. Under the succeeding Ming dynasty the cult of widow fidelity underwent a noticeable jump in visibility, with the total number of chaste widows recognized in the Ming History (274) exceeding the number cited in the previous 1,000 years' worth of dynastic histories.[75] This trend gained even more momentum under the Qing, by which time a virtual ban on widow remarriage extended high and low throughout society[76]—except among Manchus. Even in the early eighteenth century, Manchu widows, and all widows in the Eight Banners, were free to remarry if they wished. The clearest statement of court attitudes toward the remarriage of banner widows dates from 1724: "Henceforth the widows of all [banner] officers and soldiers who wish to remarry shall be free to do so. Those who wish to come back to the capital shall be allowed to return to the banner."[77]

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[74] See Patricia Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 188–216 ff. Paying special attention to property laws, Birge also confirms that "marriage and property law from Han through Sung tended to encourage widow remarriage." "Levirate Marriage," 107–8.

[75] T'ien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, 39.

[76] Mann, "Widows in Qing China," 50–51.

[77] *Da Qing huidian* (Collected Institutes of the Qing) [hereafer DQHD] (1732 ed.), 114: 28a.

The same policy was repeated in 1727, with some elaboration:

> It would seem an unkind thing to force young, childless widows in the banners with no kin to rely on to observe the chastity rule. When [banner] officials and soldiers pass away, their wives are all to receive salary [pensions], regardless of age. Those who are younger who wish to remarry, however, find themselves caught between two difficult [choices]. To make [this situation] last the rest of their lives would greatly affect the honor of the Manchus. Reason dictates that only those above a certain age should be allowed to observe the chastity rule. If some [younger women] insist [on remaining faithful widows], let people from their clan and company jointly and publicly guarantee it.[78]

Under original rules, to encourage the younger widow (defined as a woman under forty) to remarry, payment of her husband's pension would be stopped after one year. But after 1727, the incentive for the childless widow under forty to remarry was deliberately raised—she was to receive no pension at all. This was to end the bad habit of some young widows who deliberately chose to "guard their chastity" out of greed.[79] The court's clear preference was that banner widows, especially childless young banner widows, remarry. The contrast with standard practice for Han widows could hardly be more stark.

I find two principal reasons for this different standard. First, the idea of a widow remaining faithful to the memory of her deceased husband was essentially foreign to the Manchus before the conquest. This is apparent from the term itself. The Manchu phrase for preserving one's chastity, *jalangga be tuwakiyambi*, is quite transparently a literal translation from the Chinese expression *shoujie* (to guard chastity). In other words, it was a borrowed term for a borrowed custom. In this it is unlike the expression dahame bucembi, which marked an indigenous practice. Moreover, the native Manchu word, *anggasilambi*, to be a widow (from *anggasi*, widow) does not have the same connotations found in either *shoujie* or *shou gua*, to preserve widow[hood], which emphasized the importance of guarding

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[78] BQTZ 69: 1338; the same edict is in *Shangyu qiwu yifu* (Discussions in Memorials on Banner Affairs), YZ5.7.27. It is not found in the *Veritable Records*. The Manchu version of the edict is quoted in document 26 of *Jôkôkitô* (The Bordered Red Banner Archives), Kanda Nobuo et al., eds. (Tokyo: Tôyô Bunko, 1972), p. 32. The middle section literally reads: "If among them there are young [widows] who want to go out [that is, remarry], and [we] on the other hand prolong their being trapped in difficulty, the consequences for Manchu face (Ma., *dere*) are also many."

[79] BQTZ 69: 1338. Court policy on young widows was notably unstable. In 1738, eleven years after eliminating all pensions for childless widows below forty, the court reversed itself and once again approved financial assistance for this group. DQHDSL 1140: 3a–b.

(Ch., *shou*) one's moral purity. So it is not surprising that we find widow remarriage, like following-in-death, was nearly universal in Inner Asian societies. The Turks, Mongols, Khitan, and Jurchen all encouraged widow remarriage, frequently via the levirate, whereby a man's widow was taken as a spouse by his younger brother.[80] Though they did not practice the levirate, the Manchus permitted widow remarriage, and among less acculturated Manchu groups in the Northeast widow remarriage remained the rule into the early twentieth century.[81] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century population registers for banner communities in Manchuria show that about 10 percent of widows remarried, a tentative confirmation that widow remarriage was not too uncommon.[82]

Second, it was in the court's interest to recycle banner widows into the marriage pool. For one thing, the number of marriageable bannerwomen, particularly Manchu women, was always limited.[83] Since it was preferred (though apparently not mandated) that Manchu males marry Manchu females, forbidding Manchu widows to remarry would have made it more difficult for Manchu bannermen to find partners and raise families.[84] This, in turn, was detrimental to Manchu interests, since as a minority group they could not afford to let their numbers dwindle. Keeping fertile young women from reproducing, especially in the first century or so of Qing rule, simply did not make demographic sense.[85]

One can see in the original Manchu standard for widow remarriage itself a kind of dual standard. Whereas women with children or women over forty were free to remarry if they chose, until the 1740s, the court used economic measures to pressure women under forty to remarry. The court's expectations of bannerwomen, so different from those it set for Han women, remind us of the very different status of bannerwomen in Qing society. This point is especially apparent when we consider the economics of widowhood. All widows were "free electrons," to be sure; and all widows faced financial insecurity. But these truths were best applied to the Han woman, who usually remained dependent on her husband's family, frequently with unhappy results.[86] Few Chinese widows were independent, since state support only came with jingbiao recognition, by which point a woman had already had to survive twenty or thirty years on her own.[87]

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[80] Wittfogel and Feng, *Liao*, 200–1; Roux, "La veuve," 63–77. The latter comments that the practice was probably less frequent among the aristocracy, explaining why it is so frequently commented on by outsiders but so rarely observed in indigenous records. This would also explain why we find examples of widow suicide, but not widow remarriage, among the early Manchu elite.

[81] This was providing the woman had no son older than twelve years of age. S.M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Manchus* (Shanghai: North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924), 71.

[82] James Lee and Cameron Campbell, *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social organization and population behavior in Liaoning, 1774–1873* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86–87. However, these statistics must be compared with the available data on premodern Han populations, which show that remarriage depended heavily on the onset age of widowhood. For instance, in late Qing Tiawan, only 5.2 percent of women widowed between the ages of 40 to 44 remarried, while 30.3 percent of those between 30 to 34 and 58.9 percent of those ages under 24 remarried. Note that this is also a frontier population (Arthur P. Wolf, "Women, Widowhood, and Fertility in Pre-Modern China," in Jacques Dupaguier et al., eds. *Marriage and Remarriage in Populations of the Past* [New York: Academic Press, 1981], 139–47). My thanks to William Skinner for this reference.

[83] As the research of James Lee and Wang Feng has shown, concubinage was far more common among Manchu males than among the general Han population, resulting in a much-reduced marriage pool for Manchu and other banner males. See Lee and Wang, "Nuptiality Among the Qing Nobility, 1600–1900" (paper presented at the 1997 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago).

[84] The history of Manchu-Han intermarriage is still poorly understood. On the one hand, it does not appear that Manchu males were by law explicitly limited to selecting Manchu females as wives. Recent research shows, however, that this was usually the case. Manchu females, on the other hand, were strictly forbidden to marry any man outside the banner system, and it seems that by and large this proscription was obeyed. See Ding Yizhuang, "Banner-Commoner Intermarriage in the Qing" (paper presented at the 1997 meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Chicago) and "Shilun Qingdai de Man-Han tonghun" (Manchu-Han intermarriage in the Qing), an unpublished paper. Though her evidence is largely anecdotal, it confirms my own findings, such as the 1727 report from a banner garrison commander to the effect that "a small number" of marriages had taken place between bannermen and Han women. In response, he ordered a halt to such matches, only permitting marriages between those in the banners at the garrison. *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe* (Beijing: First Historical Archives and Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1988–89), 9: 127, Cai-lang, YZ5.2.27. That bannermen preferred Manchu or other bannerwomen as partners is also attested by a story from the Canton garrison. The son of the Manchu commander wished to marry a Manchu woman but could not find a match because he lived in the south where Manchus were few and the soldiers at the garrison were drawn from the Chinese, not the Manchu banners. Finally, a suitable prospect turned up when another Manchu official was posted to Canton who had a daughter of marriageable age. Before a match could be arranged, the court had to approve an exception to the rule barring marriage alliances between officials in the same province. *Gongzhong dang Qianlong chao zouzhe* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982), vol. 4, p. 32, memorial of Sucang, QL11.9.29. As these cases show, there was a shortage of marriageable Manchu females; this was true even in Beijing, partly because of a very high rate of Manchu polygyny. Thus Manchu males often took Han Chinese women as wives, usually as secondary wives. See Ding Yizhuang, "Tan Manzu de yingqie zhidu" (On concubinage among the Manchus), an unpublished paper, and James Lee and Wang Feng, "Nuptiality Among the Qing Nobility." Interestingly, some officials even tried to make these secondary wives eligible for *jingbiao* status. *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe* vol. 26, no. 734, Liu-bao, YZ12.8.25.

[85] Liu Sufen, "Qingdai huangzu hunyin," 108, makes a similar point.

[86] Mann, "Widows in Qing China," 44–45.

[87] Birge, "Levirate Marriage," 136.

The bannerwoman, in contrast, was very much the dynasty's ward. The original organization of the Qing state as a warrior society around the Eight Banners imposed upon the dynasty a permanent obligation to provide for the welfare of its soldiers' families. A bannerman lived to serve the khan all his life; when he died, his widow did not face the same sort of terrible uncertainty faced by the members of a Han family, since their needs were addressed in a practical and timely way through the banner system. This obligation was even stronger when it concerned the families of soldiers who had fallen in the field. Depending on the specific circumstances of her husband's death, a Manchu widow could thus count on a one-time cash payment, plus a pension, to be paid for one year, regardless of her age or whether she had children. All told, the wife of an ordinary mounted soldier stood to receive the not-inconsiderable sum of 186 ounces of silver upon his death—roughly fifteen times the average annual wages of a laboring Han Chinese male—or perhaps more, depending on the circumstances of his death.[88] If a widow had children to raise, she continued to receive her husband's pension (one-half his last salary) until they were grown.

Though it never said so openly, in allowing remarriage, the court was merely being practical. It was more economical to have widows dependent on second husbands earning a salary and serving the dynasty than to support "idle" widows' families with monthly stipends for which it got nothing in return. By the same token, widows had to be practical, too. The amount provided by a pension was barely enough to live on. Here again, the Manchu widow had options available to her that were not available to the Han woman. One, as discussed, was remarriage; and records show that women cited a wish to escape poverty as their reason for remarriage.[89] Another option not open to Han women was to move a son into the post formerly held by her husband. A banner widow who could do this found that her family's livelihood would be assured. If she had no son, she could try to get another male in the household into the slot, even if he was not strictly entitled to it.[90] Or she could follow proper procedures to adopt a son, who would then be able legally to assume the position of his late stepfather (whom he may never have met) and receive the silver and grain payments that were his due as a salaried bannerman. Any of these actions improved her financial situation and brightened her future and the prospects for the entire household.

It is not surprising, then, that such irregular appointments became commonplace during the early eighteenth century. The court even went along with these practices to an extent. In 1736 it relaxed the rules requiring new soldiers to be at least big enough to handle a bow and permitted young boys to take their father's jobs, even if they were only ten years old.[91] Nor is it surprising that adoption was frequently resorted to in order to assure a household income. Indeed, while it is known that adoption was (and is) more common in China than in most places in the world, adoption rates among Manchus exceeded Chinese adoption rates on average, sometimes even doubling them, reaching 8 percent between 1750 and 1850 and 10 percent between 1780 and 1810. Only with the 1817 proclamation raising subsidies for Manchu widows without salaried children to support them did adoption rates begin to decline.[92]

State resources devoted to the welfare of banner widows thus went far beyond processing jingbiao commendations and the extras that those commendations carried in the banners (gifts of silver, sacrificial items such as wine and mutton, a tablet, and a subsidy for construction of a paifang memorial arch—Han widows received only the tablet and the subsidy).[93] Through the banner system, the state also supported families by paying pensions and allowing children to receive paying posts. Another particular feature of court policy toward widows was that recently bereaved bannerwomen resident in the provinces were supposed to return to Beijing in obedience to the standing repatriation policy (literally, return to the banner: Ch., *guiqi*; Ma., *gûsa de bederembi*). Though an exception to the repatriation policy was made as early as 1687 to allow grown sons to fill their fathers' positions automatically in the provincial garrisons,[94] it remained in effect for another seventy years. The banners covered a widow's relocation costs, including the transport of her husband's remains for burial in Beijing. Back in the capital, the true home for everyone in the banners, a widow and her children were expected to find support from relatives if they lacked other means;[95] but company captains were supposed to ensure their well-being in the last resort.[96]

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[88] BQTZ 33: 609; BQTZ 69: 1338. This does not take into account a grain supplement, also paid for one year.

[89] *Neiwufu laiwen*, packet 2145, QL48.4/fth–8/fth month. The woman in question was approximately 45 years of age when her second husband, a Manchu, died. After "preserving her chastity" for 2 years, she married again, this time to a man 70 years old, because she said she could no longer support herself.

[90] See the case of a certain Merge, a Manchu bannerman from the Xi'an garrison, who died circa 1720 on campaign in Tibet. With no son to take her late husband's post, Merge's wife was able to place the son of a family bondservant, Barsai, into the post. But when this arrangement was discovered by a greedy officer in the garrison, he stripped Barsai of the post and put his own underage grandson in the slot. The wife then complained to the officer's superior, whose sympathetic report to the emperor appears to have restored the position to Merge's family. *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 434, memorial of Ilibu, YZ3.7.21.

[91] *Qianlong Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 49, memorial of Fupeng, QL1.2.8.

[92] The generally accepted figure for adoption among the Han population is estimated at about 5 percent. See James Lee and Wang Feng, "Adoption Among the Qing Nobility and its Implications for Chinese Demographic Behavior" (unpublished paper); Lai Huimin, *Tianhuang guizhou* (Imperial nobles) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1997), 43–47. Widows made 95 percent of adoptions (James Lee, personal communication). Despite rules limiting adoption to other banner children, many of these adoptions were of Han children. Wang Zhonghan, "Qingdai baqizhong de Man-Han minzu chengfen wenti" (On the Manchu-Han ethnic make-up of the Qing Eight Banners), *Minzu yanjiu* (1990) 3: 36–46.

[93] This subsidy came to thirty taels. DQHDSL 1145: 20b; *Qianlong Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 52, memorial of Alu, QL1.5.17.

Eight Banner officials frequently complained about the burdens entailed by the repatriation policy. Some saw it as expensive and a pointless waste of money, since many long-term residents in the provinces found it impossible to get by in the capital and secretly stole back to family in the garrison.[97] Officials began questioning the need to take bodies back to the capital at all, since sons were taking over the jobs anyway. They pointed out the inconsistency of burying banner*men* in the capital when banner*women* who predeceased their husbands were buried in the garrisons,[98] noting that repatriation of corpses made it difficult for the family to tend the graves of the departed.[99] Under this steady stream of protest, the court gradually relented, first relieving Chinese banners of the need to return to the capital and allowing them to establish local cemeteries in 1742. Over the next fourteen years, it backed down on various other parts of the repatriation policy until finally the entire program was abandoned in 1756.

Maintenance of the repatriation policy on the grounds that Beijing was the native home of bannermen reflected the court's deeper political agenda and its concern over acculturation, while objections and changes to the repatriation policy were predicated on ritual, humanitarian, economic, and practical grounds. These competing pressures disclose the ambivalence of Qing attitudes toward banner widow chastity during the first

ninety years of Manchu rule. The collapse of the repatriation policy signified the ascendancy of practical concerns and coincided with a major shift in court policy toward banner widows, whereby the earlier dual standard for younger versus older widows was resolved in favor of an unambiguous promotion of widow fidelity for all women in the banner system.

The Qianlong Chaste Widow Boom

As the edicts cited earlier suggest, in the 1720s the court was lukewarm about promoting chaste widowhood among bannerwomen in the early Qing. The relatively low numbers of banner chaste widows in Table 2.2 for the first three reign periods bears this out. But not long after the Qianlong emperor succeeded to the throne, large numbers of virtuous widows—chaste widows, not widow suicides—begin to appear in the jingbiao lists. The average number of chaste widows commended annually during the Yongzheng reign was just 41; the average for the Qianlong reign was 127 per year. Nor does this figure represent an increase just in the later part of the reign. The average for the first 10 years of the Qianlong reign (1736–1745) is already 109 jingbiao annually. For banner society, as for Chinese society generally, the eighteenth century was the heyday of the chaste widow.[100]

Three explanations come to mind for this abrupt increase in the number of chaste widows. The first is cultural. Looking again at the figures in Table 2.2, the enormous jump in jingbiao statistics suggests either bannerwomen in the middle and later eighteenth century were suddenly much more virtuous than they had been a generation or two before—admittedly unlikely—or that the chaste widow ideal, once unknown among the Manchus, had taken root throughout the banner system. The numbers are just too great to have all been distorted. Indeed, we do seem here to be witnessing the effects of a process of acculturation through which the more proper norms of the chaste Han widow were adopted by women in the Eight Banners. All around them, Han mothers and widows were keeping vows of chastity and earning reputations and awards for their virtue, which then reflected favorably on their sons.[101] As widow chastity became more and more common in the eighteenth century and as the Manchu occupation of China dragged on, Manchus were in effect being "left behind" by a prestigious social norm widely respected by the rest of society. It is easy to imagine that people in the banners—like the non-elite members of Qing society generally—began to feel it unseemly that the widows among them could still remarry so easily. Furthermore, given that acculturation was widespread among banner populations, who enthusiastically welcomed Chinese language, literature, art, religion, and food (and often combined them with pre-existing practices to create a Sino-Manchu hybrid), the migration by Manchu women to Chinese ways is not especially surprising.

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[94] BQTZ 38: 715.

[95] Shirokogoroff notes that, among the Manchus he observed, "the late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children" (*Social Organization of the Manchus*, 70).

[96] DQHD 114: 28a.

[97] *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 11, memorial of Cangšeo, YZ1.9.29.

[98] *Qianlong Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 52, memorial of Arigûn, QL1.5.2.

[99] *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 11, memorial of Cangdzai, YZ1.11.9.

[100] Consider that in 1749 some 200 virtuous widows were reported for all of Jiangsu province, an important coastal region with a contemporary population of roughly 20 million, while in the same year 275 virtuous widows were reported for the Eight Banners, with a total population of perhaps 2 million. Taking the banners as the Manchu "home province," this means that a banner widow was more than 10 times as likely to receive a *jingbiao* commendation than a Han woman (Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 135, and *Qinding baqi tongzhi* (Imperially-commissioned [Revised] Generally History of the Eight Banners) [hereafter QDBQTZ], *juan* 259). In absolute numbers, of course, Han women dominated. Figures for just four counties in Jiangsu province list over 15,000 chaste widows during the Qing period (T'ien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, 142).

What *is* surprising is that the Qianlong emperor, well known as a champion of Manchu identity, himself appears to have adopted a more "Chinese" attitude toward widow chastity than either his father or his grandfather. An edict of 1762 makes this clear:

> Even if they have not met the number of years required, unmarried maidens in the Eight Banners who die of sickness in the homes of their betrothed while preserving their chastity demonstrate a pure and sympathetic will; [they] shall, regardless of their age, have their cases investigated by the banner and reported to the board for *jingbiao* nomination in order to console their loyal spirits. The standards for Manchu and Han *jingbiao* are thereby made entirely uniform.[102]

This edict embodies precisely the sort of extreme emphasis of the virtues of chaste widowhood fostered among Han women during the Ming and high Qing, except that now the emperor was preaching them to Manchu women. While this paralleled the "ethnic harmony" trope of earlier reigns, the ideal espoused by the Qianlong emperor was far removed from the more "humane" considerations voiced by the Yongzheng emperor just a generation before. I will say more on this in a moment.

The other remarkable thing in this 1762 declaration is the emperor's offhand reference to the "consolation" of the widow's "loyal spirit." Here is an entirely Chinese conceit. So far as we know, the Manchu world was not originally troubled by "hungry ghosts" and other sorts of unrequited spirits who restlessly roamed the earth, creating misfortune for the living. Clearly, by the mid-1700's the Manchu élite had absorbed Chinese ideas not just on widow chastity but also on the afterlife.

Acculturation, however, still leaves some questions unanswered. If the rise in banner jingbiao citations were the result of acculturation alone, one would expect a slow, steady increase in the number of widows refusing to remarry, rather than a 300-percent jump within the space of a decade. It is hard to resist the conclusion that a second factor—institutional change—had a direct effect on the ballooning number of chaste widows in the Eight Banners. For one thing, policy shifts, such as the 1738 decision to grant greater assistance to young widows, may have lowered the incentive to remarry. Additionally, the court was not applying as much pressure on childless young widows to remarry. It was less concerned about Manchu reproduction, since by this time the demographic situation in the banners had shifted dramatically, and over-, not under-, population was becoming a problem. Also, as just mentioned, the early Qianlong reign saw repeated criticism of the court's repatriation policy. Easing this policy may have helped promote widow chastity. At least one source notes that only after the first banner cemetery was allowed in 1752 did widow chastity begin to be reported. One cannot but wonder whether widows felt more compunction over remarrying now that their first husbands were buried close by, rather in Beijing.[103]

Yet it is hard to believe that cultural, or even institutional, changes can fully explain the tripling in the number of virtuous Manchu widows. A third factor to be considered is the influence of imperial taste. It is quite possible—though at the same time almost impossible to prove—that the Qianlong "boom" represented increased reporting and not only an absolute increase in the number of chaste widows. The potential influence of the emperor in such things should not be underestimated, particularly if the cachet of widow chastity was felt to enhance the image of Manchu women. However, until we have found more edicts encouraging the reporting of chaste banner widows, it will be hard to say to what degree court tastes were responsible for the higher numbers in Table 2.2. We can say with certainty, however, that under the Qianlong emperor widow chastity in the Eight Banners received far greater attention than it had 100, 50, or even 10 years, earlier.

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[101] Mann, "Widows in Qing China," 47–48.

[102] DQHDSL 403: 7, cited in Ding, "Qingdai Manzu funü," 188, n. 7.

[103] *Hangzhou baqi zhufangying zhilue* (Outline history of the Hangzhou Eight Banner Garrison) [hereafter HBZZ], Zhang Dachang, ed. (preface dated 1894), 20: 2a.

A Manchu "Woman's Way"?

The preceding sections have traced the modification of Manchu norms for widows, noting the decline of following-in-death that accompanied the shedding of Altaic funerary practices and the acceptance of Chinese notions frowning on widow remarriage. As best we can tell, by the second half of the eighteenth century, widow suicide was no longer as common as it had been in the early seventeenth century—for Manchu and Han widows alike—and Manchu widows no longer enjoyed the same freedom to remarry they once had. It is possible, of course, that remnants of the original practices of following-in-death and widow remarriage survived the court's standardizing efforts, but the overall conclusion must be that these changes reflect real shifts in cultural norms and social practice among the banner populations.[104]

This leads to a curious paradox. Comparing the Qianlong emperor's attitude toward bannerwomen with his attitude toward bannermen, we find that his enthusiastic promotion of the virtuous widow cult is diametrically opposed to his vigorous championing of a specific ethnic ideal for Manchu (and Mongol) men. Manchu ethnicity, it would seem, was subject to a gendered bifurcation, whereby the acculturation of Manchu women (who, it will be recalled, accounted for over 60 percent of jingbiao totals) was deemed acceptable, but the acculturation of Manchu men was not. That is, while the emperor was busy defending the cultural boundaries of male ethnicity, he was simultaneously breaking down at least some of the cultural boundaries of female ethnicity. He sought to ensure the persistence of a caste of tough Manchu warriors and at the same time foster the image of broadening Confucian-style widow chastity among Manchu bannerwomen.

Why this gendered duality? Given the present state of our knowledge of Manchu women's history, answers to this question can only be tentative. I think that an explanation for the apparent inconsistency in views of male and female "Manchuness" needs to begin by recognizing two things: first, that the emperor was not bound by any need to be consistent, only by a need to further Qing political interests; and, second, that it is not unusual for women to occupy a different place than men in defining ethnicity generally.

Concerning the first of these, the conclusion seems inescapable that the emperor hoped to reap political capital by pursuing this bifurcated ethnic strategy. No less than the Yongzheng emperor, the Qianlong emperor cared greatly about Manchu "face." By proclaiming so-called virtuous behavior among Manchu women and creating the image of a flowering cult of chaste widows in the Eight Banners, the emperor could exploit that image for political ends. If, as Mann and others have persuasively argued, having Han women obey the dictates of a strict neo-Confucian loyalty was important for the dynastic image, the expansion of the same sort of values among bannerwomen themselves was even better evidence of how far from their uncivilized roots the Manchus had progressed. The emperor's obsession on this score, which corresponded neatly to the "conspicuous filiality" observed by Harold Kahn in his landmark study of the Qianlong emperor,[105] suggests that by the middle of the eighteenth century the chaste widow cult had broken the ethnic boundaries that separated Han and Manchu. The reference in the notes preceding the "Virtuous Women" sections of both the *General History* and the *Revised General History* to the Eight Banners as the "Two Southerns" (Ch., *ernan*)—an allusion to the preface of the "Airs of the States" section of the ancient *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi jing*) and the praises sung there of the proper deportment of aristocratic women—was nothing less than a Manchu claim on the Olympus of Chinese female virtue.[106]

However, this does not completely resolve the riddle of why female acculturation was acceptable, even desirable, if male acculturation was not. After all, one never finds the emperor encouraging bannermen to embrace the ideals of literary accomplishment so prized among the Chinese male elite. On the contrary, the emphasis was on the impossibility of a Manchu ever attaining the same level of erudition and expression as a Han. In this regard we see a definite difference between the court's treatment of men and its treatment of women.

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[104] Knowing whether the remarriage rates for Manchu widows remained higher than for Han widows would help settle this question, but it is unlikely that we will ever have the necessary statistics.

[105] Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[106] BQTZ 239: 5365; QDBQTZ 241: 1a.

There are occasional edicts by the Kangxi emperor to "encourage morality" and "spread civilization" among both bannermen and bannerwomen,[107] but generally speaking, Confucian filiality was not for them. Faithful widowers in the Eight Banners were never awarded jingbiao, and filial sons only very rarely.[108] The court found other ways to reward their virtue, such as bestowing rank, endowing the family with an inheritable title,[109] or honoring them as a group. In 1724, the Yongzheng emperor established four shrines in Beijing, two for men and two for women, to commemorate virtuous banner folk (in the provincial garrisons, the only shrines were those dedicated to local bannermen who died in battle). The names of the honorees were all engraved on one arch and each had an individual tablet placed within the shrine, where sacrifices were held in spring and fall. None of these people was awarded jingbiao insignia, and their names were not collected in the *General History*. In 1767 the Qianlong emperor ended all such recognition for banner males and limited jingbiao solely to chaste widows. "The old ways of the Eight Banner Manchus are plain and simple," he wrote. "Filial behavior is wholly within their regular duties. Let investigation [of filial exemplars] henceforth cease."[110] As this edict makes clear, Manchu men were instead to maintain the Old Manchu Way (Ma., *Manjusai fe doro*), the noble and austere path of their forefathers. Calls to preserve the Manchu Way stressed not filiality or scholarly excellence but riding, shooting with a bow and arrow, speaking Manchu, living a simple and unpretentious life (though as the emperor reminded them, this included service to their parents), and maintaining their "manly virtue" (Ma., *hahai erdemu*), as proper Manchu pursuits.[111]

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[107] DQHDSL 1145: 20b–21a.

[108] I have turned up only nine bannermen in the "Filial-Righteous" (Ch., *xiaoyi*) section of the *Qingshi gao* (Draft History of the Qing) (out of a total 212 men mentioned there), all of whom were praised for devotion to parents, as were the 18 men listed in the same section of the 1796 *Revised General History of the Eight Banners* (5 of these also appear in the *Draft History*). Only a few actually received a jingbiao commendation. The section for filial sons in the 1736 version of the *General History* contains all but 4 of these 18 names, suggesting that there was not much interest in promoting this set of Confucian values among banner males during the Qianlong reign.

[109] QDBQTZ 240: 3a–27b.

[110] DQHDSL 1145: 21a–21b. The Beijing shrines were called *zhongyi xiaodi ci* (for male filiality) and *jiexiaoci* (for wifely fidelity). One of each was in the west and east halves of the city. The provincial shrines were called *zhaozhong ci* (for loyalty to the dynasty).

[111] On the tension between literary and martial ideals and its implication for Manchu identity, see Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 340–78, especially 359 ff.

The inclusion of "manly virtue" in the repertoire made the masculine orientation of the Manchu Way as explicit as it could be, but it did not guarantee the effectiveness of imperial appeals. Since the late 1600s the court had been watching anxiously as the unmistakable signs of "softening" crept among the once-feared Manchu warrior class, ever susceptible to the "theft of their virtue" by Han decadence.[112] Significantly, excessive concern for female virtue was sometimes blamed for this trend. In 1729, the Xi'an garrison general and his staff were upbraided by the Yongzheng emperor for placing too much emphasis on the encouragement of womanly virtues and not enough emphasis on manly ones. To the general's report of a virtuous Han-martial woman at the garrison, the emperor retorted:

> There are regular procedures for this sort of thing. Why did you have to report on this specially? You can't train soldiers, so you take this one Xi'an woman and turn her into a virtuous woman and righteous wife. What's the good of this? Are you saying this is the result of your own effort? You should be ashamed of yourselves.[113]

The Qianlong emperor's frequent return to this theme indicates that his message on the importance of the Manchu Way was getting through but poorly. Acculturation continued to take its toll. Martial skills among city-dwelling bannermen hit new lows; ability in the Manchu language withered; horses were slaughtered for soup meat. From a cultural perspective, the differences between conqueror and conquered were fading fast, even as other institutional differences remained.[114]

Given this bleak picture for bannermen, it is all the more surprising that acculturation among bannerwomen was not only not resisted but welcomed. There was no "Manchu Woman's Way," not the neat divide between civil and military (Ch., *wen* and *wu*) that the court could rely on to separate Han and Manchu men. We see a few signs of court concern over the erosion of cultural differences between Manchu and Han women, limited mainly to the widening of the traditionally narrow sleeves of Manchu clothing. However, neither this nor the embrace of the chaste widow ideal posed a threat to Manchu legitimacy in the same way that acculturation among men did, since women did not fight and so were not involved in maintaining the dynasty's martial image, not to speak of the security of its borders and its defenses against internal rebellion. Much more important was the protection of Manchu fertility. Here Manchu women were in a much safer place then men, since they were not marrying Han men, at least not in significant numbers.[115] Again, the banner system saw to that.

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[112] The phrase is from Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 226.

[113] *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 819, memorial of Cangseli, YZ7.5.15. Although stored with Manchu-language memorials, this item is in Chinese. Cangseli's chastened reply is found in *Yongzhengchao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe*, vol. 15, no. 635. Despite Cangseli's promise to redouble efforts in drilling the men, the emperor was not mollified: "It can truly be said that you people have no judgment at all."

[114] The place of the "Manchu Way" and the role of the banners in sustaining the institutional elements of Manchu distinctiveness is explored more fully in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.

In fact, we find that even if there was no explicit "Manchu Woman's Way," there were still important differences between Manchu and Han women. Bannerwomen in Beijing thirteen years and older were required to present themselves for the triennial *xiunü* selection for palace maids. Girls who had not been through that process were technically forbidden from marrying—a rule suggesting the persistence of a much older custom according to which the Manchu khan and nobles had "feudal" rights over young Manchu women.[116] Moreover, while neither Manchu nor Han women were free to marry without permission, when the Han woman normally turned to her parents or clan to arrange a match, the bannerwoman was confined within the system of "directed marriage" (Ch., *zhihun*). According to directed marriage (which applied to men as well), every match in the banners required the approval of superiors in the Eight Banner hierarchy before it could take place.[117] Thus even as their status as members of the banner system imposed limitations on them, these very restrictions and requirements (such as the obligation to offer service in the palace) in and of themselves distinguished Manchu from Han womanhood.

Culturally, the most obvious difference between Manchu and Han women was that Manchu women did not bind their feet. Apart from this, they wore their hair in a distinctive style and could also be distinguished by the three earrings they wore on each ear, in contrast to the single earring of the Han woman.[118] The clothing of Manchu women, moreover, differed from that of Han women, at least until very late in the dynasty.[119] Other differences, which have not yet been well studied, strongly suggest that in Manchu society, as in Altaic societies generally, married women enjoyed higher status and greater freedom than women in Chinese society.[120] This is particularly true of their rights over property, where Manchu women, especially young women, had a range of legal rights (including inheritance) that were generally denied to Han women.[121]

From the court's point of view, then, in distinction to Manchu men, Manchu women were not in imminent danger of losing their Manchuness. Promoting the virtuous widow cult among them posed little risk of eliminating the differences between them and Han women, even if they adopted it genuinely. It seems that the emperor's desire for the political prestige to be gained by the appearance of so many faithful Manchu widows overrode other considerations and provided a compelling justification for court-sponsored acculturation. We see the culmination of this process in the nineteenth century, when bannerwomen, such as those at the Hangzhou garrison, who perished at the hands of the Taiping rebels in 1860–61, were canonized *en masse*. Instead of ennobling Han women who went down for the sake of the Ming dynasty, the word *xun* was now applied to Manchu women who "died martyr's deaths" for the Qing.[122]

Still, there are a few signs suggesting persistent court ambivalence with respect to chaste widowhood in the banners later in the Qianlong reign. The same 1767 edict ending jingbiao for filial Manchu sons also ended it for women of the Solon, Barga, and Daur tribal groups in Manchuria and the Xinjiang garrisons.[123] Documents from 1767 and 1774 indicate that because they lived in Xinjiang and because those procedures were established only for "China proper" (Ch., *neidi*), women of the Solon and Sibe tribes were not recommended for jingbiao honors. Furthermore, the settlement of Mongol soldiers from the Chakhar banners on the far western frontier in the 1760s resulted in a very large bachelor population in the new garrisons established around Ili. The court took it upon itself to find wives for these men and in 1764 began sending hundreds of Chakhar widows and young girls out to the frontier, where they were to marry and settle down. It obviously made no difference to anyone that these widows might remarry.[124]

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[115] Ding Yizhuang, "Banner-Commoner Intermarriage in the Qing."

[116] *Gaozong shilu* 120: 39a–b; 146: 15b–16b.

[117] On this question, see Ding Yizhuang, "Directed Marriage (*zhi-hun*) and the Eight-Banner Household Registration System among the Manchus," *Saksaha* 1 (1996), 25–30.

[118] See DQHDSL 1114 for edicts on earrings and other elements of proper dress for bannerwomen. My thanks to Evelyn Rawski for this reference.

[119] Valery M. Garrett, *Chinese Clothing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 47, 58–61, 84.

[120] See the comments by Zhang Juling, *Qingdai Manzu zuojia wenxue gailun* (A sketch of Manchu authors and literature in the Qing) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1990), 110–6, suggesting that unmarried Manchu girls enjoyed superior standing and educational opportunities compared to their Han peers. A particularly colorful depiction of an unfettered Manchu woman is found in the eighteenth-century *zidishu* chantefable, "Eating Crabs" (*Pangxie duan/Katuri be jetere bithe*). Though the comparatively "liberated" social and economic status of women in Inner Asia historically is well known, more work might enable us to say to what degree the differences she notes are those of class or ethnicity. See Wittfogel and Feng, *Liao*, 17, 199–202; and Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, 94–95.

[121] Lai Huimin and Xu Siling, "Qingdai qiren funü caichanquan zhi qianxi" (A brief analysis of bannerwomen's property rights in the Qing), *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu*, 4 (August 1996).

[122] HBZZ 20: 13a–36b.

[123] DQHDSL 1145: 21b–22a. The Jiaqing emperor partially restored this privilege in 1799.

Conclusion: Chaste Widows, Ethnicity, and Gender

In examining changing attitudes toward widows and their connections with social and political issues in late imperial China, this essay has followed a well-worn path. But it has extended that path to include an examination of widows in the very different ethnic context of the Eight Banners and the role Manchu women played in Qing ethnic politics. In the case of the banner widow, we have seen how the Manchus' own traditions were first given a Confucian window dressing and later modified substantially, as the conquest of China and the position of the Manchus as a ruling elite forced a number of compromises with their Altaic practices. We have also seen that the notion of appropriate womanly behavior changed significantly between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, whereas for men the dictates of the Manchu Way demanded a resistance to any change at all and a preservation of a (partially imagined) "old tradition."

By the high Qing period, the major dissonances in the treatment of Manchu and Han widows had been harmonized, and the widow's position stabilized across society. The Manchu widow may have found her options more limited than before, but she still had a comparative advantage over the Han widow, since the banner supplied her material needs and she enjoyed more freedoms, including (probably) a greater freedom to remarry. The price paid by the court for this harmonization was the partial acculturation of Manchu women—a process which may very well have taken place even without court sponsorship. In the ubiquitous calculus of Qing ethnic politics, wherein the ethnic particular had constantly to be balanced against the Confucian universal, this was evidently deemed a fair deal, particularly since Manchu women were otherwise not succumbing to the flagrant temptations of urban Chinese life. But it is impossible to say whether the loneliness and hardship the widow suffered in the bargain was "fair" or not. There may not have been much open consideration of this problem. As one son wrote to the emperor when his mother was awarded a *jingbiao*: "Your servant was orphaned from youth. The bitterness of my mother's having guarded her chastity was an unavoidable thing."[125] Though there is no room to address it here, this raises the question of the emotional aspect of widow chastity and the discourse considered acceptable for its expression.[126]

I would like to conclude with some thoughts on what the transformation of Manchu widowhood can tell us about the role of gender in the construction of ethnicity generally. Relatively little has been written about gender in the historical literature on ethnic identity. This is odd, because ethnicity, like class and gender, is a particular expression of social organization and power relations—a type of identity, in other words—that is more or less generalizable across time and space, at least, it seems, in the early modern and modern periods of world history. If, as is widely accepted, class and gender intersect in many ways, sometimes reinforcing each other and sometimes conflicting with each other,[127] then we should also expect the same sort of interaction between class and ethnicity and between gender and ethnicity. Yet the latter usually emerges only in rather politicized formulations emphasizing the "double oppression" experienced by non-European women at the hands of Western male colonialism, imperialism, or racism.[128] Given the range of settings in which gender no doubt informed ethnicity (and vice versa), it would seem there is much more work to be done by historians in this area. One scholar has commented that "the relationship between gender and ethnicity varies to such an extent, and can be so complex" that an entire book would be required to sort matters out properly.[129] There is obviously no room here to deal with the problem in more than a cursory way. The following observations, based on the Manchu case, should therefore be seen

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[124] *Zongrenfu laiwen, renshi/jingbiao*, packet 454; *Qingdai xiqian Xinjiang Cha-ha-er Menggu Manwen dang'an yibian* (Collected translations of Manchu documents on the transfer to Xinjiang of the Chakhar Mongols) (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1994), docs. 9, 14, 72, 73, and 79.

[125] *Qianlong Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 52, memorial of Alu, QL1.5.17.

[126] Interested readers are referred to the discussion of this problem with relation to mourning in Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*.

[127] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) is perhaps the standard work on this subject.

[128] See, for example, the introduction to Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[129] Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 154–5.

as tentative first steps in this direction, more as points of departure than points of conclusion.

Based on the historical transformation of Manchu widowhood detailed above and the contrasting ways in which Manchu masculinity and femininity relate to Manchu ethnicity, we may posit that women mark ethnicity differently than men. Or, put another way, that ethnicity is inscribed differently on women than on men. This seems to be especially true when it comes to ethnicity in imperial or colonial settings, where defining boundaries (always a key element of ethnicity) acquires extra importance. In such situations we find that the boundaries for women are often not the same as those for men. Perhaps this is to be expected, since, after all, it is usually the men who are setting the boundaries. But I believe that more than simply gender categories are at work here.

In a 1989 discussion of the "tensions of empire," historian Frederick Cooper and anthropologist Ann Stoler comment that a major problem faced by the colonial regimes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was maintenance of the boundaries between colonizer and colonized, particularly when it came to the sexual relationships formed between colonial and indigenous populations. Among other reasons, this was a problem because colonial regimes, like governing regimes everywhere, had not only to reproduce people but also "ways of life and forms of power," and the two forms of reproduction were inextricably linked.[130] I do not wish to make the argument here that the situation of the Manchus in China was a colonial situation. If the Manchus colonized China—and I am not sure we can say that they did—they did so only in a limited and anomalous sense, since by and large they did not impose their own system of ordering the world upon the Chinese.[131] Nevertheless, the Qing regime did share one crucial similarity with European colonial regimes in that both ruled populations many times larger than themselves. In these settings, ethnic ambiguity was a source of political and social anxiety. For the sake of reproducing their power, both types of regimes therefore required that the ethnic boundaries dividing them from the people they governed be very clearly drawn. This meant, in turn, that sexuality and nuptiality of the ruling ethnic elite ("elite" from a political, not social, standpoint) had to be carefully monitored.

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[130] Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, "Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule," *American Ethnologist*, 16: 4 (November 1989).

[131] Several essays addressing the question of Manchu colonialism have appeared in a recent issue of *The International History Review*, 20: 2 (June 1998).

In the case of European colonial powers, this could result in curiosity about the sexual life of the local populace and in new definitions of Europeanness, particularly European womanhood, in terms of sexual practice and gender roles.[132] We do not find the same sort of curiosity among the Manchus, to be sure, but we do find similar rules governing marriage practices. Concern for the preservation and reproduction of power gave rise to prohibitions on the marriage of European (Dutch, English, French) men to colonized women, but colonial men were free to take colonized women as concubines, or "companions." Since European women were not at first allowed in the colonies, by 1900 concubinage became the "most prevalent living arrangement for European colonials."[133] In the Manchu case, though Manchu men were able to marry Han women, as discussed earlier, they were usually taken as secondary wives. First wives were usually drawn from clans within the Manchu banners. Manchu-Han commoner intermarriage was therefore "concubinage," too, albeit with a different set of social and legal implications, since the children of such unions were considered unambiguously Manchu, whereas the children of mixed European-Asian unions were not considered European and formed an increasingly important (and, from the colonizers' point of view, worrisome) social group.

The ethnic picture looked very different from a woman's perspective, however. When European women were permitted to enter the site of colonization, the result was an increased vigilance of ethnic and racial boundaries between dominant and dominated groups (along with an embourgeoisement of culture and other notable changes). Lines of difference once muted by the fact of widespread cohabitation between European men and indigenous women sharpened as the presence of European women raised concerns about their "protection" from the sexuality of indigenous men. Cohabitation between, say, Dutch women and Javanese men, was out of the question, not to speak of marriage. The sexual double standard thus revealed, colonial concubinage declined, but surveillance of women's behavior remained very strict.[134] Like these European women, Manchu women in China faced considerable restrictions on their sexuality and nuptiality. As we have already remarked, they could not marry without the permission of the banner organization and, when they did marry, were prohibited from marrying Han Chinese men, unless they were Chinese bannermen, which made them quasi-Manchus, at least legally.

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[132] Ann Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist*, 16: 4 (November 1989).

[133] Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable," 637.

[134] Ibid., 640–2. It is interesting to note that despite the existence of such restrictions, literary depictions of colonial Indonesia show a very wide range of sexual and marital arrangements between "Europeans," "Mixed Bloods," and "Natives," including the marriage of European females and Native males. See the "Buru Quartet" novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer.

On the basis of this evidence, one is led to conclude that ethnic identity is not usually threatened by male exogamy (formal or informal), only by female exogamy.[135] If this is true, then controlling women's reproduction was indeed a way to secure ethnic boundaries and resolve a major "tension of empire." We can say, therefore, that where the political and economic requirements of empire depend on maintaining ethnic boundaries, different definitions of nuptiality will apply within and between both gender groups and ethnic groups. As in the Manchu case, this will sometimes produce asymmetric definitions of gender and ethnicity.

Turning back for a final look at the Manchu widow, it is plain that few other groups in Qing society were subject to as close and comprehensive regulation as Manchu women. The triennial registers compiled under Eight Banner auspices provided the court with the sort of household information it needed to monitor and manage the marital behavior of all banner populations, the Manchus, as *primus inter pares*, mattering most. And while this information covered both men and women, it was women's behavior in this regard that was most closely restricted and scrutinized. In part this owed to the growing acceptance of Confucian norms which placed a high value on women's virtue, particularly widow chastity. But, as we have established, Qing imperial interests also insisted that Manchu women's sexuality and nuptiality be closely guarded. This suggests that the Qianlong boom in widow chastity was more than just an effort to acquire Confucian legitimacy, and more, even, than just a leap in the pace of acculturation. Promoting widow chastity affirmed the control of Manchu males over the nuptiality and fertility of Manchu females, giving them further control over the reproduction of banner people and Qing power.

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[135] The Jewish case is an immediate and obvious exception.

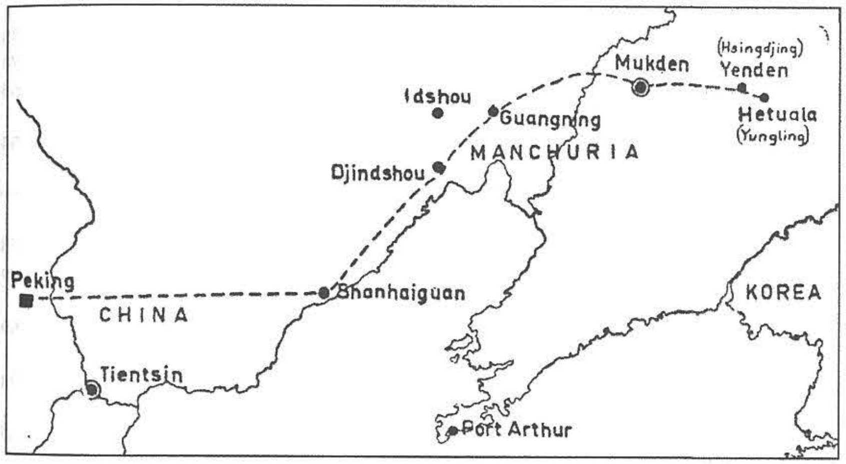
■ Source: Rudnev, Andrej, 'A Manchu itinerary', in *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 12 (1955), © Imago Mundi Ltd., pp. 161–170. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd. on behalf of Imago Mundi Ltd.

A MANCHU ITINERARY

Andrej Rudnev[1]

I. *Introductory Note*

In 1919, during a stay in Peking, L. Bagrow purchased there, in Lyu-li-chan—the quarter where most of the small book-shops are situated—a few old Chinese maps, among which there was one in Manchu and Chinese,[2] representing the itinerary of a journey undertaken by one of the emperors of the Tjing dynasty from Peking, through Shanhaiguan and Mukden, to the tombs of his ancestors which were situated near Hsing-djing (Manch. Yenden) in Yung-ling by the mountain Hetu-ala.



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[1] I take the pleasure of expressing my most cordial thanks to Dr. W. Fuchs, Munich, Dr. Masayosi Nomura, Nagoya, Dr. Kazuki Sonoda, Tokyo, Dr. N. Poppe, Seattle, and Dr. B. Karlgren, Stockholm, for their invaluable help in this work.

[2] In the following the above described Manchu Itinerary (Table I) is simply called "Itinerary". The Chinese list of the stations described here below (Table II on p. 960) will be referred to as the "List".

II. *Description of the Manchu Itinerary (see Table I)*

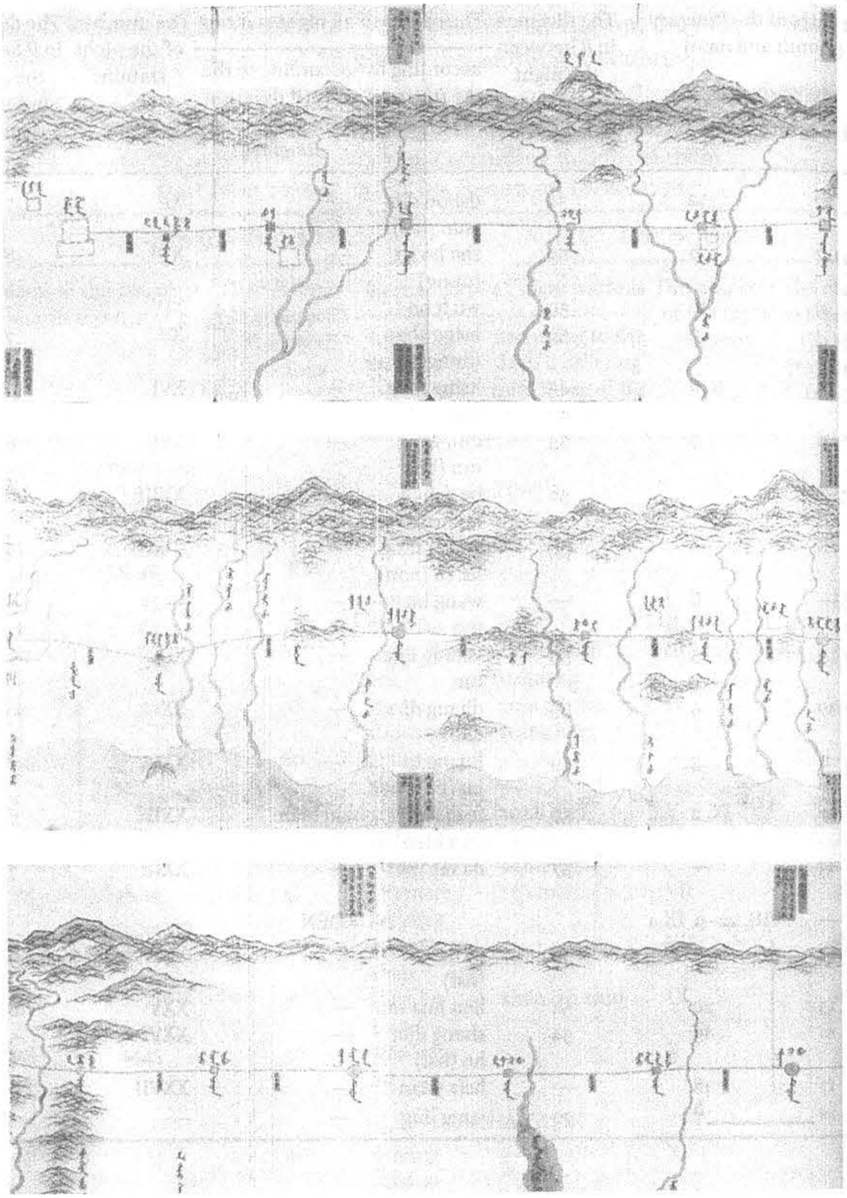
The map has a cardboard cover, pasted over with Chinese silk cloth, bearing a Manchu title written on a light brownish ribbon: *Mukden-i dedun uden-i nirugan* (= a map of Mukden's day and night stations).

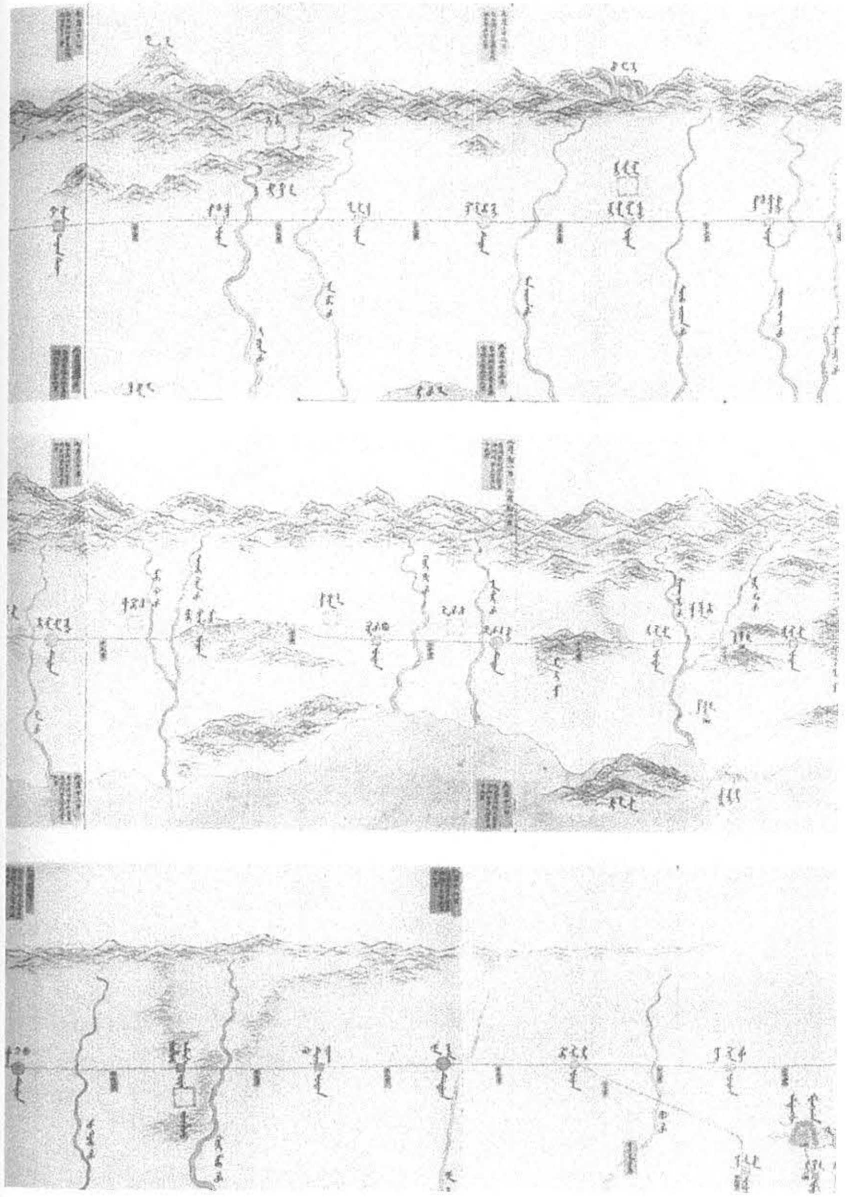
Table I. The Night Stations of the *Itinerary* (with dates) and of the *List* (with numbers) giving as well the distance in *li* according to both of them
Start from Peking on VII, 20, Return on IX, 26, 1778

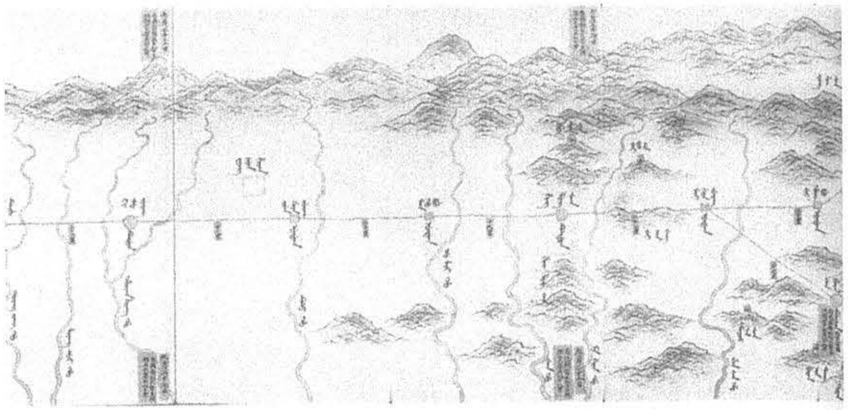
ITINERARY (= Table I)				LIST (= Table II)		
The dates of the *Itinerary* (month and date)		The distance in *li* between the night stations	The names of all night stations		The numbers of the night stations	The distance in *li* between the night stations (on the *List*)
			according to the *Itinerary*	according to the *List* (if differing from those of the *Itinerary*)		
on going forward	on returning		PEKING			
↓	↑	↓			↓	
VII, 20	IX, 26					
—	25	67	yän djiau	—	I	75
21	24	72	bo djiän	—	II	72
22	23	66	hsing djia lou	tshën hsin dshuang	III	54
23	22	66	tji shu dshuang	wan tshuan hsing lung	IV	54
24	21	60	hsing lung shan		—	—
—	—	—	—	wu li dun	V	68
—	20	—	shën guan (ying)	liu hsin dshuang	VI	70
25	18, 19	58	i tji miau ho yung	i tji miau	VII	50
26	17	53	tiän tai shan		VIII	63
27	16	52	shën ho tsun (hsi)	shën dja tsun	IX	58
28	14,15	50	wën dshu an		X	58
			SHANHAIGUAN			
29	13	41	dshung tjiän so (dung)	—	XI	50

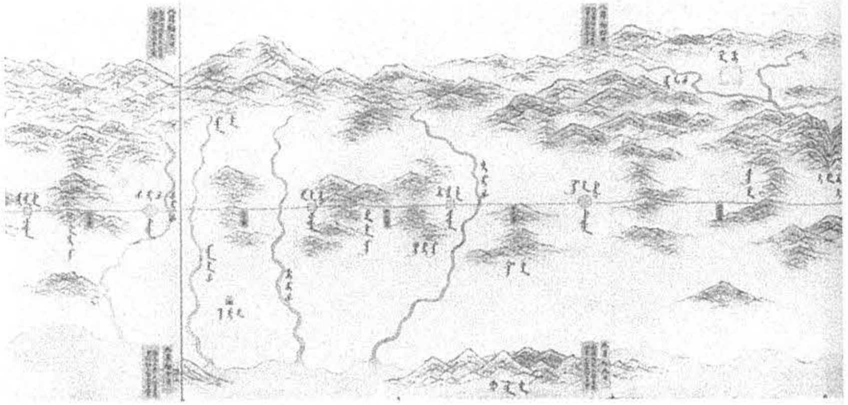
Table I (*cont.*)

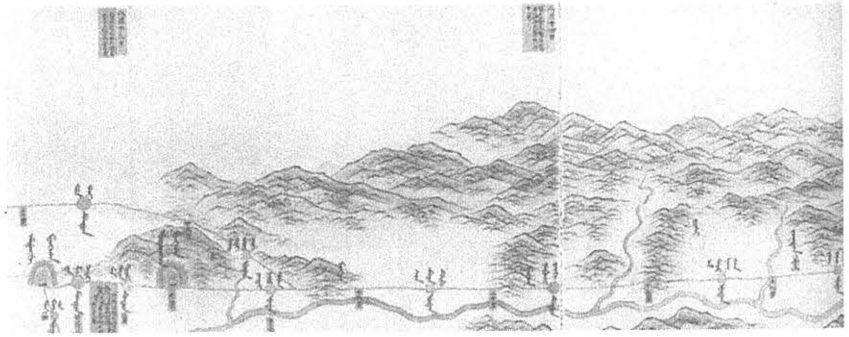
ITINERARY (= Table I)				LIST (= Table II)		
The dates of the *Itinerary* (month and date)		The distance in *li* between the night stations	The names of all night stations		The numbers of the night stations	The distance in *li* between the night stations (on the *List*)
			according to the *Itinerary*	according to the *List* (if differing from those of the *Itinerary*)		
30	12	54	dshou djia tsun (hsi)	—	XII	70
VIII, 1, 2	11	59	sha ho so (dung)	—	XIII	80
3	10	59	wu li ho	—	XIV	72
4	9	59	hsing shan (dung)	—	XV	73
5	8	43	hsing lung tun	—	XVI	67
6	7	55	djin gang tun (be)	—	XVII	68
7–8 }		58	be dshën miau	—	XVIII	74
	—	(3)	guang ning hsiän (nan)	—	—	—
—	6	—	wang hu tun	—	—	—
9	5	59	tshang djia tun	—	XIX	70
10	4	59	djiang djia diän	—	XX	67
11	3	59	huang tji pu (be)	—	XXI	70
12	IX, 2	57	fe djase (lau biän)	lau biän	XXII	72
13	—	57	da tai	—	XXIII	73
—	VIII, 22–9, IX, 1		MUKDEN		—	
14	21	58	ga bu gai (hsi)	—	XXIV	67
15	20	52	liän hua tau	—	XXV	66
16	19	54	shang djia ho (hsi)	—	XXVI	57
17	18	—	hsia yüan	—	XXVII	68
18	↑	70	yung ling	—	—	7

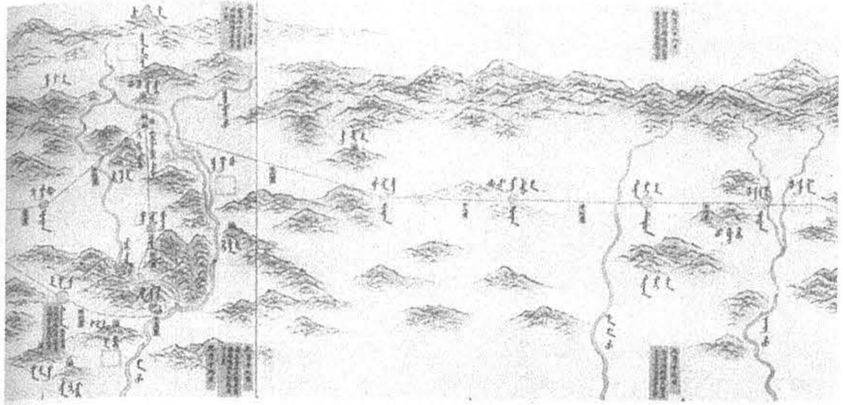


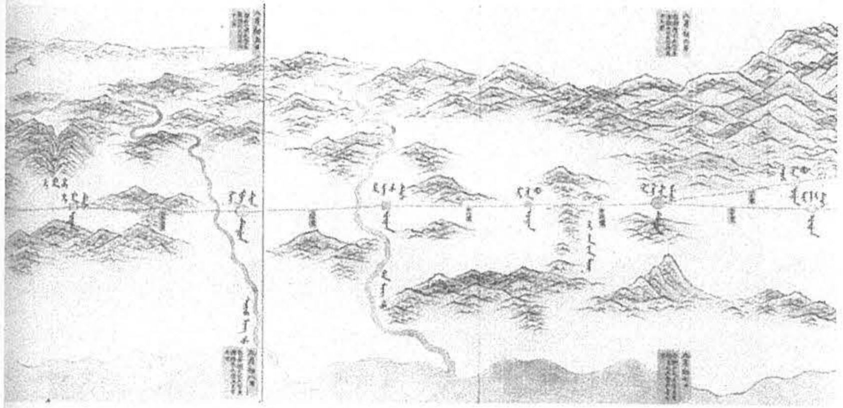


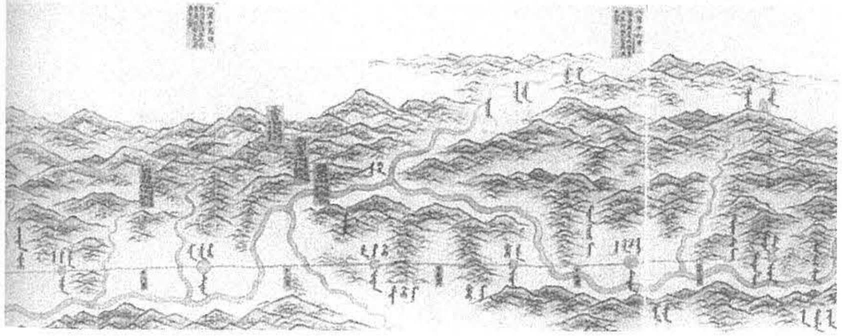


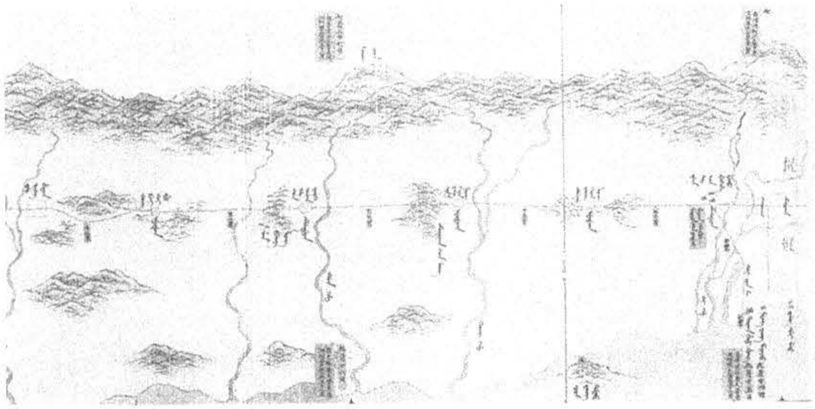


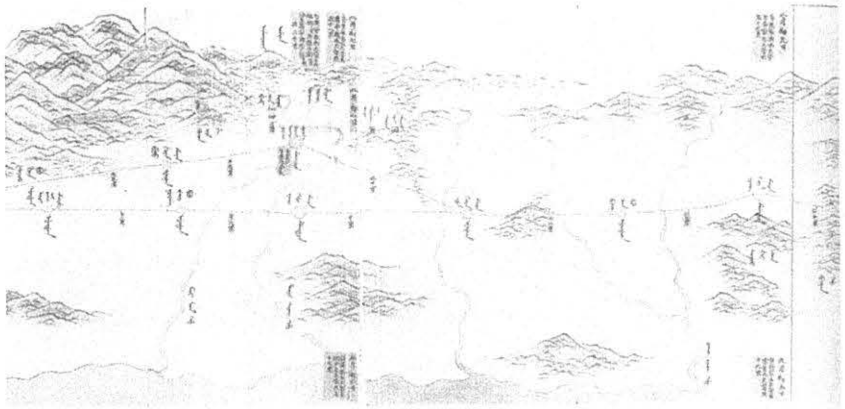


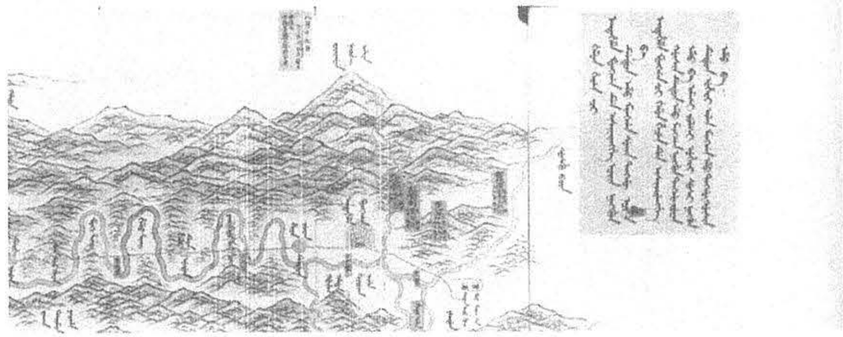


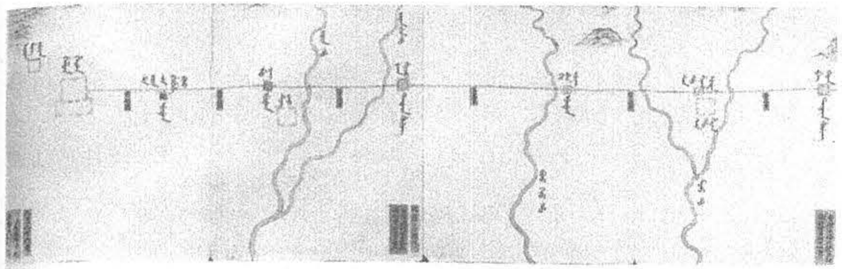


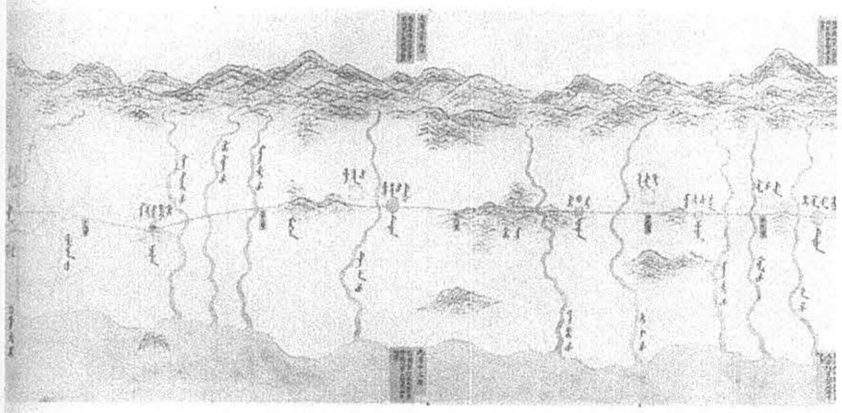


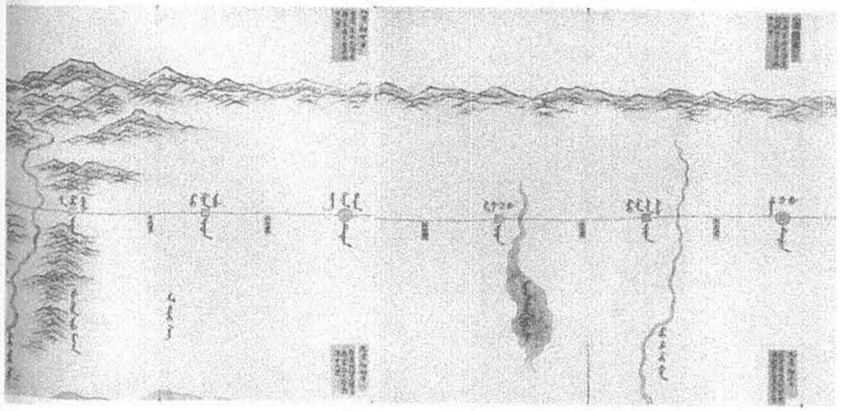


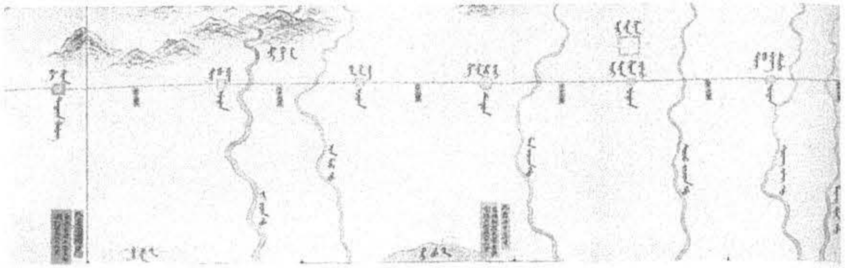


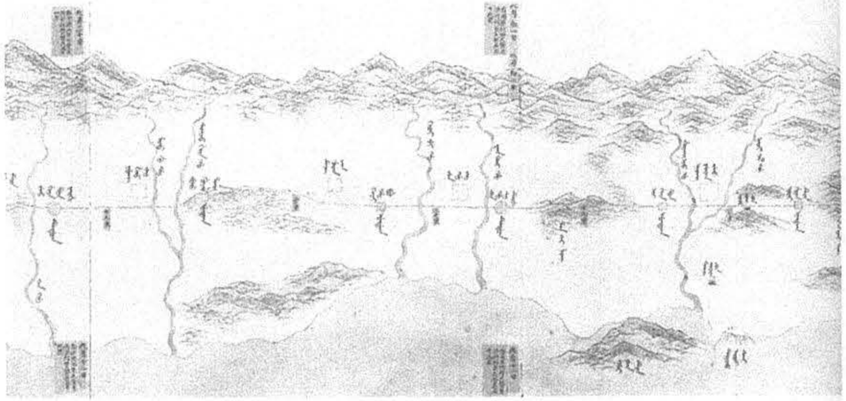


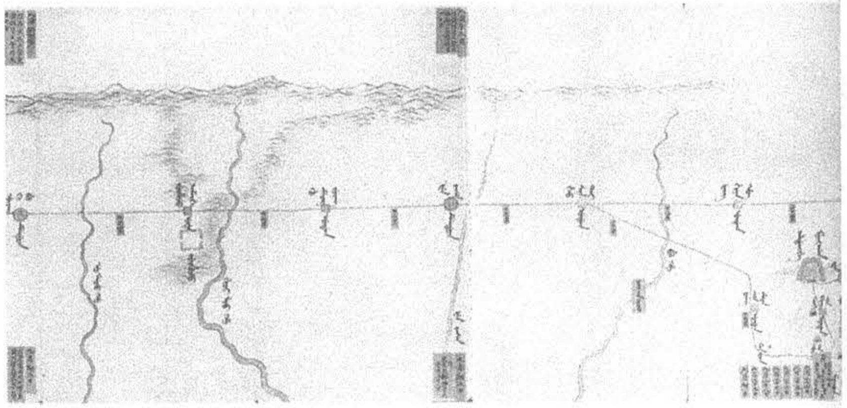


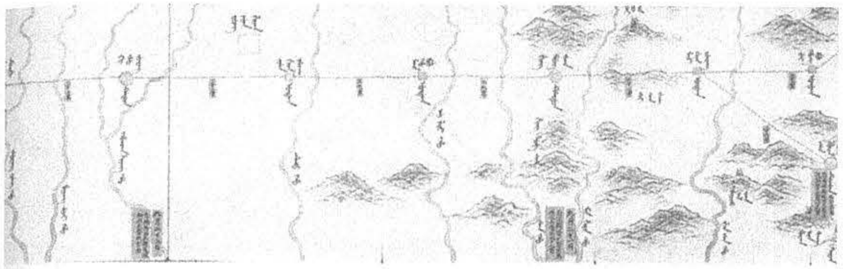


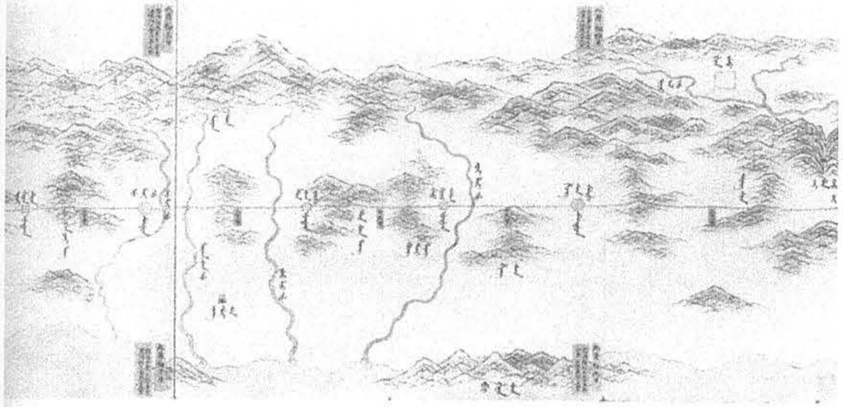


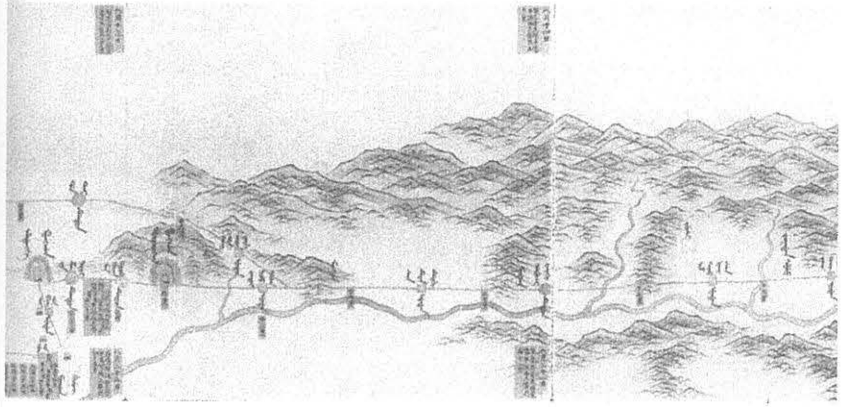


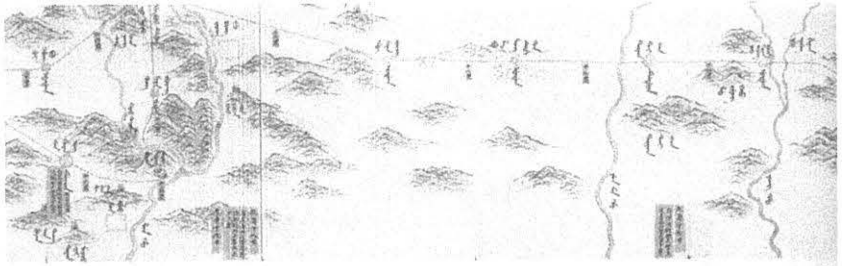


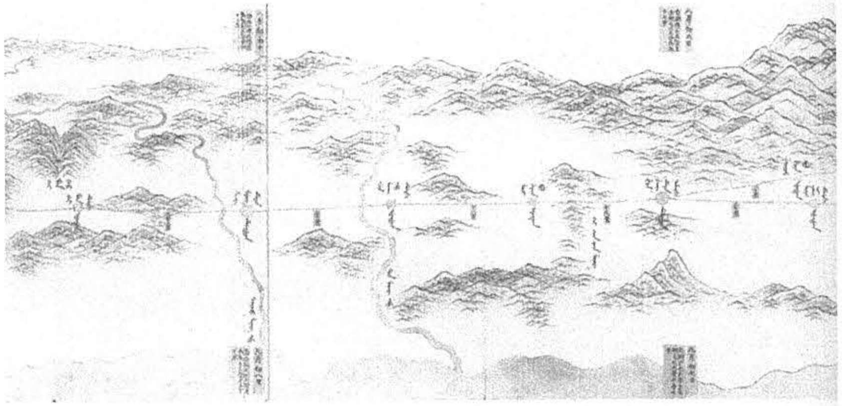


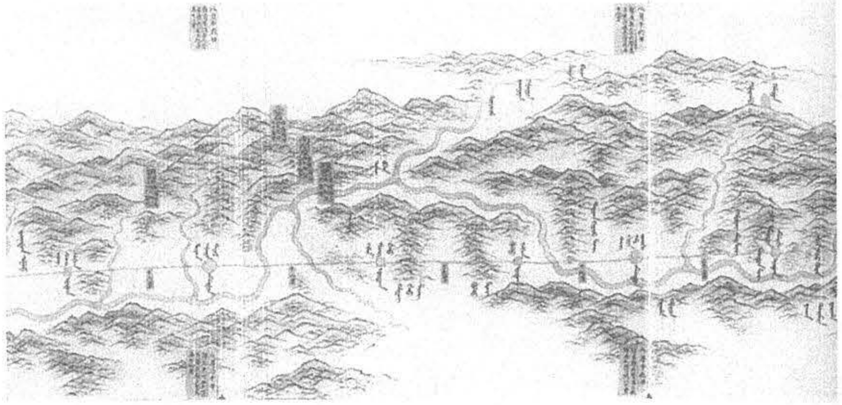


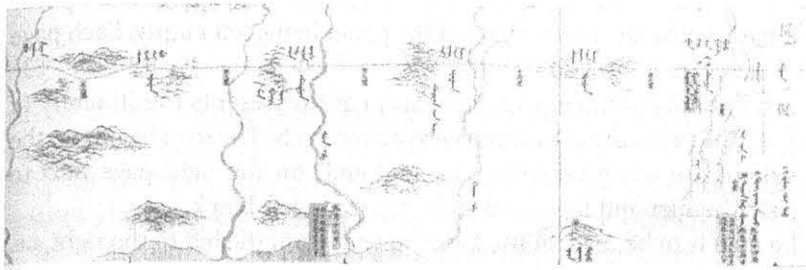


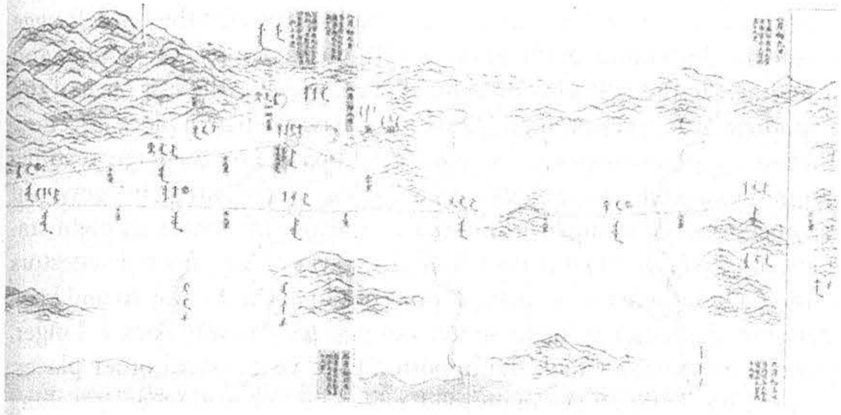


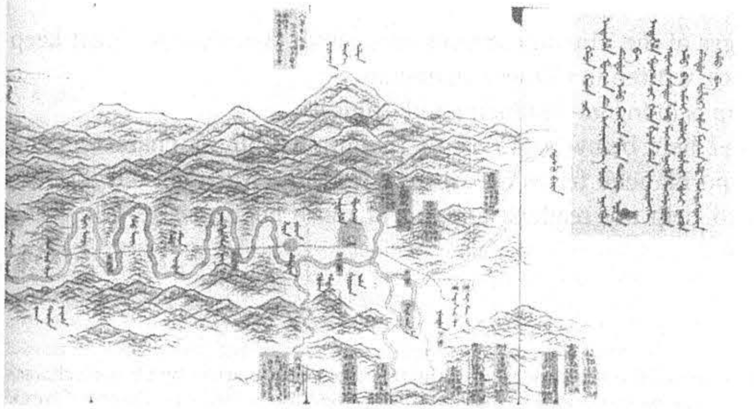












The cardboard cover consists of two pieces pasted on the first and last pages of the map. The cardboard is about 2 mm. thick. The map is drawn in water-colours and Indian ink on one side of a sheet of paper, which is 626 cm. long and 21 cm. wide. It is folded in the Chinese customary way like a harmonica, the reverse side of the paper being left empty. Each page is 21 × 11,25 cm.

Each unfolded double page (21 × 22,5 cm.) represents the itinerary of one day. The pages are connected with no intervals. The map begins on the left side of the second double page and ends on the right page next to the last. The first and the last double pages are left blank.

The map is to be read, in the Manchu way, from the left to the right, i.e. exactly as a European book and not as a Chinese one.

Peking is drawn in the middle of the first left page. On the last left page we see the destination of the journey, with the sacred places: Yenden and Yung-ling. On the following right-hand page, which is the last page of the map, there is an inscription in Manchu script, written on a piece of yellow Chinese paper measuring 11,7 x× 8,5 cm. and pasted on the page, reading: "From the Capital (*Gemun Ketshen*, i.e. Peking) on the way to the graves of the ancestors of the emperor (*Enteheme munggan*) there are 26 night stations, or 1520 *li*. On the way back from the graves of the imperial ancestors to the Capital there are 30 night stations or 1611 *li*. On the way to and back there are altogether 56 night stations or 3131 *li*". The way back is longer, because the emperor took the opportunity to visit several other places, e.g. Mukden, lying off the main road, which he followed when travelling forward.

The pages of the Itinerary are not numbered. Therefore we must keep to the dates, written in Chinese characters.

The map is bilingual—Manchu and Chinese.

I present here below some of the important Chinese characters and Chinese and Manchu terms occuring on both the Itinerary and the List, in order to help my readers ignorant of those languages to follow my description.[3]

In the following I give the dates of the Itinerary in Roman figures for the number of the Chinese moon month and in Arabic for the date, e.g. VIII, 21 for the 21st of the eighth month.

The distances between the stations are shown in *li*.[4]

Transcription of Chinese and Manchu Names and Terms

CHINESE. Not having at my disposal the dictionary of Giles,[5] I have followed in the transcription of Chinese names the system used by Rüdenberg[6] in his Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch (2nd edition 1936). Only instead of writing *sch*, as Rüdenberg does it, I use the transcription *sh*.

Being accustomed to the Northern Chinese Mandarin language, I have often had trouble with the different spelling found in words of different authors.

One of the difficulties arising from the use of Rüdenberg's dictionary is that characters read in two different ways are given there only once. For example the character *tjiän* (sky) is given under *gan* (No. 1921, p. 200), but is not to be found under *tjiän* (pp. 516–520). The usual character for sky *tiän* 4959 is on the page 500. The same defect is met with regarding *ban* or *pu*. On page 12, by the character *ban* (No. 114) is also given the pronunciation *pu*, but it is missing among the characters read as *pu* (pp. 429–430).

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[3] As the pages of the Itinerary are not numbered but only marked by Chinese characters indicating the night stations on the dates concerned, I give here the Chinese figures. Even not a sinologue will easily understand these figures placed in the right-hand top corner of each unfolded sheet.

1	一	4	四	7	七	10	十	30	三 十
2	二	5	五	8	八	20	二 十 or 廿		
3	三	6	六	9	九				

The days of the first decade of each month (from 1–10) have the character 初 before the figure, e.g. 初七 means the seventh day of the month.

The ordinals are preceded by the indicative character 第 e.g. 第二 means "the second".

night	夜	in	左	altogether, in all	共
month	月	*li*	里	to	至
from	自	day	日	direct	正

[4] *Li* = a Chinese mile, i.e. about 576 meters is usually considered equal to 1/2 kilometer.

[5] GILES. A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Pekingese Dialect.

[6] W. RÜDENBERG, Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, 2nd completed edition, Hamburg 1936 (pp. VIII–IX) compares his own transcription with that of LESSING-OTHMAR and WADE; Z. MATUSOVSKY, Geograficheskoye obozreniye kitayskoy imperii s kartoyu na 4 listakh, St. Petersburg, 1888, (unfortunately this map was not available at the University Library of Helsingfors) has comparative tables compiled by E. BRETSCHNEIDER (pp. 343–8) for Russian and French (pp. 349–55), for English (according both to WILLIAMS AND WADE); V.S. KOLOKOLOV, in Kratkiy kitayskorusskiy slovar' po graficheskoy sisteme. Moscow 1935. 1. Transcription of Kolokolov, 2. The old Russian transcription used before the revolution, and 3. The English transcription—WADE'S system, somewhat perfected, gives three different transcriptions. Prof. Poppe mentions in a letter to me "an excellent summary of all systems of transcription" by E. POLIVANOV, printed in Moscow in the twenties, unfortunately unavailable in Helsingfors.

MANCHU. As regards Manchu words, I follow the usual transliteration with the European (English) letters.

When Chinese names are given in a Manchu transcription and their Chinese equivalents are to be found in the Itinerary or on the List (see p. 942), I give the Chinese form.

In cases in which we deal only with Manchu spelling it is absolutely impossible to guess and find the corresponding Chinese characters. We must keep in mind that Rüdenberg has 113 Chinese characters read as *i*. Hillier[7] says, for instance, about the sound *chi* that "under this sound are ranged no less than 135 characters, all pronounced *chi*".

How different the spelling can be we see from the example in Manchu *giyoo* (Itinerary). The corresponding Chinese character (List) is *djiau* (Rüdenberg 706). In other sources it is *tziou, dzhou* or *dyau* etc. For the name of Peking, we find *pei, bey, be*, etc., *tzing, ching, tzin, djing, dzing, king, dyin*, and so on. Manchu *hing* (Itinerary) is the same as Chinese Hsing (Rüdenberg 2584) or *Sing, Syin, sin*, etc.

For this reason I was unable to give a complete list of all the day stations. I had to follow the Manchu names of the Itinerary which could be found on the List or in any other sources only in rare cases.

The Chinese Inscriptions

The Chinese inscriptions in the Itinerary are written on small pieces of thin yellow paper of three sizes pasted on the map.

1. The smallest pieces of paper indicate the distances between neighbouring stations in *li*, e.g. 17 *li*, 28 *li*, etc. They are pasted on the dotted red line of the road, exactly in the middle between the stations.

2. The larger pieces of paper show the date of the journey. For the way forward from Peking to Yenden they are pasted on the upper right-hand corner of the right-hand page, beginning with VII, 20. The last date, on travelling forward, is VIII, 17. On the same right-hand page, below, is the date of the return journey VIII, 18. Hence the high traveller did not spend the night in Yenden. The following dates are all given on the right-hand corner below, save the date IX, 26, the day of the return to Peking, which date is written on the left-hand bottom corner of the first page.

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[7] SIR WALTER HILLIER, The Chinese Language and how to learn it. London 1945, p. 19.

Neither the name of the traveller, nor the year of the Itinerary are indicated on the map. Unfortunately, this is often the case with similar Chinese Itineraries.

From the dates given on the map we can conclude only that the journey lasted for two months and seven days.

3. Close to the yellow paper-slips bearing the dates, we see a little larger slips indicating the distance from the foregoing night's station to the following one on the same page. These consist usually of two or three rows of Chinese characters. There may be but one such slip on a page and a number of them on another one. Thus, on the page where Yenden is shown, there are no less than ten such yellow slips of paper. In this case the indications refer to the distances to some other places beyond the map.

The Manchu Inscriptions

All the geographical names and terms are written in Manchu in Indian ink on the paper of the map. Most of them are of Chinese origin, but phonetically transcribed with Manchu letters. This fact, as already mentioned above, frequently causes great difficulties in interpreting the text.

As for the names of the night stations, we have their Chinese equivalents written on the yellow strips of paper pasted at the top and bottom corner of the same page. But the names of the day stations have no corresponding Chinese characters on the map, and the names on the List are often different from those in the Itinerary.

We find, however, five exceptions from what is said above. Viz. there are found several smaller and one big yellow strip bearing Manchu, and not Chinese, names pasted to the map. These are the following:

1. The name Hetu-ala pasted on and almost covering the Manchu inscription "Fe-ala" (the old mountain), which is written on the map proper (VIII, 17, 18).
2. The name Yong an giyoo (dshou?) pasted over the river Pu-ho about 20 *li* from Mukden, towards Peking (VIII, 13).
3. Close to Shanhaiguan on the way back to Peking there is a Manchu inscription saying: "Relay of horses on the way back" (IX, 15).
4. By the night station Guang-ning (VIII, 7–8): "Relay of horses on going upwards (forwards)".
5. The above-mentioned (p. 941) Manchu inscription on a big yellow piece of paper pasted to the last page of the map, giving a total account of the number of stations and the distance in *li* from Peking to Yenden and back.

Explanation to the Itinerary Legend

The route of the journey is marked out with a dotted red line running in the middle of all the pages right through the whole map. It begins where Peking is and ends at Yenden and the two temples of Yung-ling, making a loop around them.

All the cities are indicated by longish blue squares or rectangles of different size. Peking is marked with two rectangles, Guang-ming—with a smaller double rectangle (VIII, 7–8), Shanhaiguan—with an oblong rectangle (with small appendices on either side), running straight through the Great Wall, represented by a perpendicular, thick blue line, with a kind of tiny staples on its right-hand side (VII, 28).

Two Imperial palaces or inns (called in Manchu *Tatara gurung*) near Peking are yellow in a square blue frame.

Immediately after the Great Wall the road passes through the Red fence (*Fulg yan-fu*), drawn in red or brownish colour, leaving some space for the road (VII, 29).

An analogous drawing is seen for *Yengge-dshase*—a gate in the Palisade fence—at the night station called the Old fence (*Fe-dshase*) on the borderline between Mongolia and Manchuria, not far from Mukden (VIII, 12, 13).

The temples, monasteries, chapels, etc. are represented by small drawings of the shape of Chinese temples, red with blue roofs.

The imperial graves—two in Mukden and one in Yenden (Hetu-ala)—are indicated by drawings of red Chinese temples each, with two blue roofs, drawn against a yellow background and surrounded by a grey ornament.

All the day stations (*uden*) are represented by yellow squares □ (as a rule two of them on a double page) and the night stations (*dedun*)—on the edge of each right-hand page, marked by yellow circles ○.

The upper part of the map is almost entirely occupied by mountains, drawn in the Chinese style in blue, green and red colours.

There are however no mountains on the page of Mukden (VIII, 13), whereas some of the pages are covered with mountains rather densely.

The rivers flowing from those mountains (down to the lower part of the page) towards the sea are coloured bluish-grey, as well as the sea, whenever it is shown (between VII, 27 and VIII, 10).

Nearer to Yenden, we see on the map several rivers shown as flowing in the direction of the top of the page and falling into Sushu-bira (see p. 964, fn. 14). This name is the only one written on the last page of the map, close to the largest Manchu inscription on yellow paper mentioned above (p. 941).

On the top of the mountains considered as holy there are the so-called *Subargans* or *subarhans* (Mong. *Suburgan*), i.e. Buddhist monuments, somewhat reminiscent of small pyramids. On Pan-shan (VII, 22, cf. Borodovsky, 2)[8] and on the top of a nameless mountain, above the place named Fusi, situated near Dshak-den-holo (the Coniferous Valley. VII, 15).

The rest of the named summits bear only the Manchu spelling of their Chinese names, e.g. Pan-lung shan (VII, 21).

III. *Description of the Chinese List of Stations (Table II)*

This is a list (see p. 960) of all the night and day stations on the way from Peking, through Shanhaiguan and Mukden, to Yenden (Hetu-ala, Yung-ling). It was originally written in Chinese characters by Kazuki Sonoda on two sheets of paper, each of which contained two rows: an upper and a lower one. In our table II this list is printed in three rows.

The enumeration begins at the right-hand upper corner and has to be read in the Chinese manner, from right to left.

The first name is the Southern Imperial Gate in Peking.

The night stations are marked by circles ○ and are numbered. At the top of the text we find the ordinal numbers and, under the circles, the names of the night stations.[9]

The names of the day stations are written between the night stations, but a little lower, leaving a space of about one character to the following character. The distance between two neighbouring stations expressed in *li*, is written between the names of the stations.

The List is written in Chinese except for the distances between the night stations, i.e. the number of *li* for each day of travel, written in Arabic figures and a bow-shaped line.

The first upper row of Plate II contains the names of the stations from Peking to No. 9. The second row—to No. 18.

The third row ends with No. 27, being the last night station of the whole route. Close to it (the distance being marked 7 *li*) is Yung-ling, also marked as a night station, i.e. with a circle.

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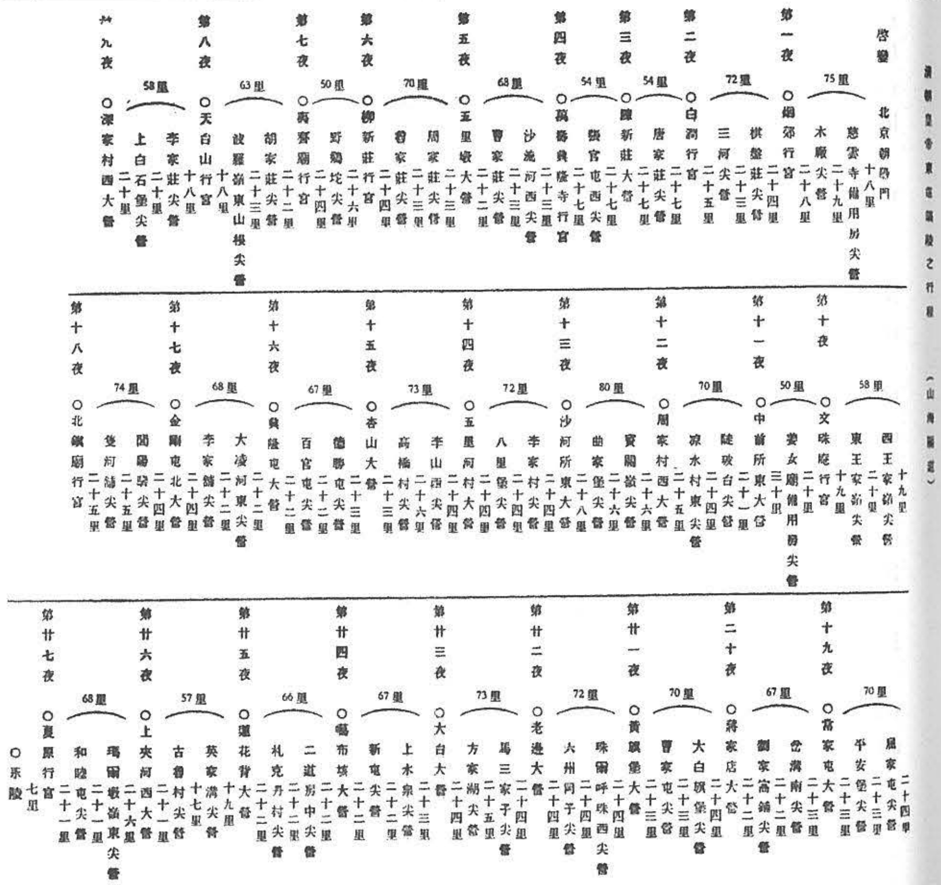
[8] L. BORODOVSKY, Karta Mandjurii i alfavitnyi ukazatel'. St. Petersburg, 1901.

[9] The night stations nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18 and 27 are called *hsing-gung*, the rest are *da-ying*.

A GRAPHIC COMPARISON OF THE SIGNS AND NAMES

in the Itinerary	on the List
	For the night stations:
○ Mch. *dedun* (Night station)	○ Ch. *yä* (Night)
Mch. *Tatara gurun* (Imperial camping palace)	1. Ch. *hsing-gung* 行宮 (Travelling imperial palace built as a night station) 2. Ch. *da-ying* 大營 (A big camping barrack)
	For the day stations:
□ Mch. *uden* (Day station)	□ Ch. *ping-ying* 尖 (= 兵 *bing*[10]) 營 (A camping barrack)

Table II. Chinese List of All Night and Day Stations from Peking to Yung-Ling



清朝皇帝東巡謁陵之行程（山海關道）

啓鑾
北京朝陽門
十八里
75里
慈雲寺備用房尖營
二十九里
木廠尖營
二十八里
第一夜
○烟郊行宮
二十四里
72里
棋盤莊尖營
二十三里
三河尖營
二十五里
第二夜
○白澗行宮
二十七里
54里
唐家莊尖營
二十七里
第三夜
○陣新莊大營
二十七里
54里
龔官屯西尖營
二十七里
第四夜
○禑勝興隆寺行宮
二十三里
68里
沙流河西尖營
二十三里
曹家莊尖營
二十二里
第五夜
○五里墩大營
二十三里
70里
周家莊尖營
二十三里
習家莊尖營
二十四里
第六夜
○柳新莊行宮
二十六里
50里
野雞坨尖營
二十四里
第七夜
○夷齊廟行宮
二十二里
63里
胡家莊尖營
二十三里
波羅嶺東山根尖營
十八里
第八夜
○天台山行宮
十八里
58里
李家莊尖營
二十里
上白石堡尖營
二十里
第九夜
○深家村西大營

十九里
58里
西王家嶺尖營
二十里
東王家嶺尖營
十九里
第十夜
○文殊庵行宮
二十里
50里
姜女廟備用房尖營
三十里
第十一夜
○中前所東大營
二十二里
70里
陡破台尖營
二十四里
凉水村東尖營
二十五里
第十二夜
○周家村西大營
二十六里
80里
寶關嶺尖營
二十六里
曲家堡尖營
二十八里
第十三夜
○沙河所東大營
二十四里
72里
李家村尖營
二十四里
八里堡尖營
二十四里
第十四夜
○五里河村大營
二十四里
73里
李山西尖營
二十六里
高橋村尖營
二十三里
第十五夜
○杏山大營
二十三里
67里
德勝屯尖營
二十二里
百官屯尖營
二十二里
第十六夜
○興隆屯大營
二十二里
68里
大凌河東尖營
二十二里
李家舖尖營
二十四里
第十七夜
○金剛屯北大營
二十四里
74里
閭陽驛尖營
二十五里
雙河舖尖營
二十五里
第十八夜
○北鎮廟行宮

二十四里
70里
屈家屯尖營
二十三里
平安堡尖營
二十三里
第十九夜
○富家屯大營
二十三里
67里
盆溝南尖營
二十二里
劉家窩鋪尖營
二十二里
第二十夜
○蔣家店大營
二十四里
70里
大白旗堡尖營
二十三里
曹家屯尖營
二十三里
第廿一夜
○黃旗堡大營
二十四里
72里
珠爾呼珠西尖營
二十四里
六州岡子尖營
二十四里
第廿二夜
○老邊大營
二十四里
73里
馬三家子尖營
二十五里
方家湖尖營
二十四里
第廿三夜
○大白大營
二十三里
67里
上木泉尖營
二十二里
新屯尖營
二十二里
第廿四夜
○噶布垓大營
二十二里
66里
二道房中尖營
二十二里
札克丹村尖營
二十二里
第廿五夜
○還花背大營
十九里
57里
英家溝尖營
十七里
古魯村尖營
二十一里
第廿六夜
○上夾河西大營
二十六里
68里
瑪爾墩嶺東尖營
二十一里
和睦屯尖營
二十一里
第廿七夜
○夏原行宮
七里
○永陵

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[10] I am indebted to W. Fuchs for the explanation that the character *ping* in the List (not to be found in the dictionaries I had at my disposal) is identical with *bing*.

Evidently, the List is not adapted to any special or particular journey, being only an enumeration of all the stations on the way, with indications of the distances between them.

IV. *Divergences between the Itinerary and the List*

The difference between the distances from one station to the other as indicated in the Itinerary and on the List is striking.

To begin with, the distance between the first stations from Peking to the next day and night stations is: 17-28-22 *li*, which make 67 *li*, the night station being Yan-giyou or Tatara gurung (Imperial camping palace). The Chinese equivalent in the List is Yän-dshau and the distances: 18-29-28 = 75 *li* (given in Arabic figures).

Another example: Itinerary VIII, 11: 20-20-19 = 59 *li* to the night station Mch. Huvang ki pu, which is exactly the same as List XXI, Chinese Huang-tji pu (the settlement of the Yellow Banner) 24-23-23 = 70 li.

I presume that the author of the Itinerary had marked the distances between the stations only approximately.

I myself have had a peculiar experience when travelling in Manchuria (in 1903) and in the north of China. (1899).

When I inquired of Chinese met on the road about the distance to the next village, the answers varied greatly, depending on the nature of the ground or of the lay of the road. My informants believed that a village situated in a hilly or mountainous country was very far away even if it was only a few *li* distant from the point where I met them, sometimes no more than 2–3 *li* behind a height.

On the contrary, when the road was level with a smooth surface and especially when the nearest village could be seen from far away, they considered it to be quite near, though in reality it was miles and miles off and to reach it would take a whole day.

Sometimes also the names of the stations (especially those of the day stations) do not correspond to each other. The total number of stations is different in both sources.

A difference in the names of the stations and in the distances between them is, as I have been told, a rather usual occurence on maps and in lists and books relating to roads in Manchuria and China.

In the initial stage of my work I tried to make up a list of all the stations according to the sources I had at my disposal, but I found only a small number of stations corresponding to those mentioned in other sources.

A rather complete list of stations in South Manchuria can be found in Opisanie,[11] which gives a description of all roads in this country with some historical and geographical data (pp. 308–309), a list in Russian transcription (pp. 375–422), and a list of their Chinese equivalents (Vol. II, Appendix, table Б pp. 1–64).

In the following I give a table demonstrating the divergencies between the distances from one station to another in the Itinerary and on the List.

V. *Some of the More Remarkable Points Along the Itinerary in Chronological Order*

VII, 20 Gemun Ketshen = Peking (the Capital city).

VII, 20 and 21 *gurung* = an Imperial palace. Both on the VII, 20 and on VII, 21 the night stations, the last-mentioned on both pages.

VII, 21. The summit Pan-lung shan.

VII, 22. A summit with a *suburgan* Pan shan, and at its foot the town I-dshou.

VII, 23. The mountain Du-le yai.

VII, 24. In the middle of the right-hand page, crossing the road, is the river U-li ho.

VII, 25. The summit Tu shan is drawn right above the night station I-tji miau (*miau* means temple). On the next pages there are many bigger or smaller temples or monasteries.

VII, 25. A red brownish river crosses the road by the first day station of the page. In Mch. spelling Gan-sha ho could be "the river of dry sand".

VII, 27. Mch. *gashan*, i.e. Ch. *tsun* = village. The night station and the river on its right-hand side is Shan-ho (*gashan*).

VII, 28. Shanhaiguan is the same as Lin-yü ot Shan-hai guan (customhouse; support).

VII, 28. The passage through the gate of the Great Wall is marked with Mch. words Shanagai duka. Zaharov[12] gives Shanaha(i)-guan—"the name of a fortress separating China from Manchuria".

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[11] Opisaniye Mandjurii (s kartoy) pod red. Dmitriya POZDNEEVA. Vol. I & II, St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 308–9, 375 ff.

[12] I. ZAHAROV, Polnyi Mandjursko-Russkiy slovar'. St. Petersburg 1875.

VII, 28, left. The highest summit on this page is Tang shan. The night station Wën-dshu an is next to the gate in the Great Wall. Ch. *an* means monastery. Here, on the way back, occures the relay of horses.

VII, 29. Immediately after the passage through the gate of the Great Wall there is a "red wall" drawn in pink colour on both sides of the road, with the equivalent Mch. name Fulgiyan fu.

VIII, 3. In the Itinerary there is no station with the name of Wu-li ho, but close to the foregoing day station Lan-ho pu is a river with the same name (written in Mch. letters) U-lii ho, which crosses the road.

VIII, 5. Just before the night station Hsing-lung tun, the big river Hsianling ho crosses the road. On the upper course of this river, on the left-hand page is seen the town Gin-dshou at a rather long distance from the road.

VIII, 6. Da-ling ho crosses the Imperial road to the left of the night station Hsing-lung tun.

VIII, 7–8. Ilaguri alin is one of the four mountains in China considered as sacred and worshipped with sacrifices, called in Chinese (according to the transcription in Zaharov's Dictionary, 104) I-u-lui-shan. Borodovsky uses on his map the name I-ului-shan. Opisanie pp. 132–3 calls the mountain after Richthofen and Palladius I-wu-liu shan and says that the name is not Chinese in origin although it is known from ancient times. Liu shan may mean in Chinese "six mountains". The mountain has also the name Guang-ning shan.

On the way forward the emperor visited a temple Be-dshen miau situated at the foot of Ilaguri alin and spent the night at the night station Guang-ning hsiän, near the town of the same name.

Here occurs the relay of horses on the way forward.

On returning the road passes somewhat lower through the night station Wang-hu tun.

VIII, 11. Right in the middle between the night stations Huang-tji pu (settlement of the Yellow Banner) flows the big river Gyui-liu ho (in Mch. spelled *Dshurhudshu*). A day station and a town bearing the same name are situated on the northern (i.e. left) river bank.

VIII, 11. A kind of lake or pond called Liyan-huva (lotos?) pao-za is marked near the day station Da Ba(i)-tji pu (settlement of the big white banner?).

VIII. 12. Fe-dshase (Mch. the old fence) is a night station (Ch. Lau biän, which also means the old fence). Probably it is Yengge dshase "a gate in the Palisade fence on the border between Manchuria and Mongolia, near Mukden" (Zaharov, 195).

VIII, 13. Da-tai (57 *li* from Fe-dshase)[13] a night station, situated on the map directly above Mukden. On the way forward the traveller did not go to Mukden, but overnighted in Dai-tai, on the upper road.

VIII, 13, 14 and on the last left-hand page of the map there are three identical drawings representing the tombs of the first ancestors of the dynasty.

VIII, 14 (left) is the cemetry Huturingga munggan, visited by the emperor on returning. See VIII, 21, left. *Munggan* means Imperial cemetry.

VIII, 16. The river Sushu[14] bira (Ch. Su-dsi ho) flows together with Hunuhu bira (Ch. Hun-ho or Liang-shui ho) and falls into an affluent of Liau ho—Hunehe bira (Ch. Hun ho) which reaches Mukden and disappears from our map in the vicinity of this city (VIII, 13). Beginning with the page of Mukden the river is meandering along the route with several affluents, as well from the upper as from the lower mountains.

On the same page VIII, 16, resp. VIII, 19, we have the night station Shang-giya ho, about 35 *li* west of the conflux of Hunuhu bira and Sushu bira. On the following page (VIII, 17) the distance to the first day station is indicated as being 22 *li*, to the following 19, and to the last night station Hiya yuvan 19 *li*. Further on to Enteheme munggan—5 *li*, to Hetu ala (Fe ala)—10, and to Yenden—2 *li*. Here the route makes a circle around two temples and the return journey begins.

On the List Yung-ling (Mch. Enteheme munggan) is marked as a night station situated 7 *li* from No. 27.

According to Opisanie 282 Yung-ling is a big village in the middle of a rocky woodland, 5 *verst* (10 *li*?) from the ancient capital of the Manchurian emperors Yenden (Ch. Hsing-djing).

A legend says that the founder of the dynasty Nurhatshi (Ch. Tai-dshu) was born near the mountain Hetu-ala and lived there until he moved to Yenden. Later, when waging war against South Manchuria (Liang-dung), he stationed his troops in the surroundings of this city.

Odoli hetshen, missing in our map, is a small town east of the mountains Golmin Shanyan alin, where the ancestors of the Manchurian dynasty had lived before they moved to Hetu-ala.

VIII, 17. The highest summit on the left-hand page bears the Manchu name Horo hada.

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[13] That according to the Itinerary (19 + 18 + 20 *li*). The List (XXII–XXIII) gives the distance of 72 *li* = 24 + 24 + 24 *li*).

[14] Read: Sus-hu.

On the following left-hand page the mountain Forgon (Be) neihe alin (250 meters high) rises above Enteheme munggan. Hulan hada is a mountain, on the lower border of Sushu bira, opposite the cemetry Enteheme munggan, where four ancestors of the Manchu dynasty are buried.

VIII, 17–18. On the map the Mch. name Fe ala (Old mountain) can scarcely be discerned, the inscription being almost completely covered by a piece of yellow paper, pasted over the name Hetu ala, which is written on the map proper between two small rivers falling into Sushu bira from below. The name of Sushu bira is the last Mch. name on the whole Itinerary and the only one on the last page, except for the long Mch. legend written on a yellow strip of paper covering more than half of the page.

VIII, 21. Huturinggan munggan is the cemetry of the emperor Tai-dsu—east of Mukden. Not to be confused with Enteheme huturinga gurun—an imperial palace in Mukden, which is unmentioned in our Itinerary.

VIII, 23. The emperor spent the night, after having visited Eldengge munggan, at the station Va-dsa-yui, thence he reached Mukden after one stop at a day station.

VIII, 24–29, IX, 1. The city of Mukden (in the right-hand bottom corner on page VIII, 13). On his way back from Yenden, the emperor first visited Elddengge munggan, the cemetry of the emperor Tai-dsung, north of the city.[15]

VI. *A Short Historical Note*

We know from many sources,[16] that the Chinese emperors of the last dynasty in China, the Manchu, or Tjing, dynasty (1644–1911), at least once during their respective reign visited the tombs of the ancestors of the dynasty including Nurhatsi (Nurhatshi) its founder in the neighbourhood of both Mukden and Yenden.

Starting from Peking, they followed from Shanhaiguan to Mukden the so-called Imperial road, called also the "Mandarin" road,[17] and then the road to the tombs in Yenden (Hsindjing) and returned, in general, the same way.

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[15] In August 1903 I visited this cemetry during my short stay at Mukden. All monuments were in a rather good condition.

[16] Opisaniye, 308–9, 375 ff.

[17] A.A. IGNATYEV, Pyatdesat let v stroyu. Moscow, Book II, p. 63, 91 ff., mentions several times the "Mandarin road", going near Mukden parallel to the railway. During the retreat of the Russian army in the Russian-Japanese war 1904 he crossed or followed it many times. He also mentions the Imperial tombs at Mukden and several other geographical names. His book does however not contain anything else of importance for this question.

The itinerary of the emperors followed, in other words, a portion of the Manchurian high-way, which extends from Peking, via Shanhaiguan, Hsin-min-ting, Mukden, I-tung-dshan, Girin, Bodune, Tsitsikar, Aigun, to the Big Sahalyan.

Since the Manchu emperors ceased travelling to the sacred cemetries,[18] the Imperial road fell into a very bad state, becoming almost impassable.

Consequently, our Itinerary is a document of one of these imperial journeys.

As I have mentioned above, the Itinerary completely lacks any indication of the name of the emperor, the year of its compilation, and the author of the diary.

Here, in Helsingfors, I was not able to obtain the necessary advice for my work. Besides, I was not sure that this map had not been published somewhere before. Therefore I asked several of my colleagues for some information on these questions.

My young friend Masayosi Nomura (Nagoya University, Japan) answered my inquiry in the following way:

"I have been in Tokyo last week... I called on Dr. Kazuki Sonoda (Keeper of Chinese books and Manuscripts at the Oriental Library—Toyo Bunko—who is a specialist on historical geography of Manchuria) and I asked him for information on your Manchurian map. Yesterday he wrote to me as follows:—"The map must be a picture-like guidance map, which was carried by the emperor's courtier when the emperor and his suite went and returned along the Emperor's road between Peking and Hsing-djing (典京). According to the Manchu letters with which the day and night stations are written, the map seems to have been carried by a certain Manchu retinue. Then, as I consider, according to the dates written in the map, when this emperor's journey was given, it falls on the third Mukden visit in the 43rd year of 乾隆 (Tjiän-lung, 1736–1796) in the reign of emperor 高宗 (Gau-dsung),[19] i.e. in 1778".

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[18] Opisanie mentions Djia-tjing (1796–1820) as having been the last of them. But, according to Kazuki Sonoda, journeys were undertaken even later, i.e. at least in the years 1783 and 1830.

[19] "It does not have to do with the emperor 宣宗 (Hsüan-dsung) or 道光帝 (Dau-guang di) who visited Mukden, then Hsin djing, in the 9th year of 道光 (Dau-guang 1821–1850), i.e. in 1830".

Dr. Kazuki Sonoda was kind enough to write down and send to me the hand written List (see Table II).

Also W. Fuchs (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich) kindly verified and confirmed this date, saying in a letter to me:

"1) Kien-lung (= Tjän-lung) 43 is equivalent to 1778.

2) My indication of the VII month—based on the 淸代迺史 of Hsiao I-shan, II, Shanghai 1928, p. 57—conforms with your date (the journey started on 20, VII). Thus my source does not indicate the length of the journey, but only its start."

Dr. Fuchs continues: "Sonoda is completely right in saying, that the year of the journey is 1778".

I did not write to W. Fuchs in order to check Kazuki Sonoda's information, I wrote to him for other information and only mentioned the answer I had received from Japan. Dr. Fuchs wrote me too, that a big number of similar imperial itineraries from Peking to Hetu-ala, Yung-ling, Enteheme munggan, and back could be found on the book market in Peking, as well as in the National Library and the Palace Library. Some of them are printed, others are manuscripts. Both the Japanese Library in Dairen and Dr. Fuchs himself have in their possession quite a number of similar itinerary or diary maps.

Prof. N. Poppe wrote me on March 1st, 1955, returning the proofs of this paper, that the Mongolian Charter of Altan-han contains a description of the itinerary there and back, analogous to our Manchu Itinerary.

The year of each journey can be determined on the basis of the dates (days and months) found in them.

We know that Kien-lung (Tjiän-lung) visited the imperial graves four times: in the VII month 1743, VIII—1754, VII—1778, VIII—1783.

An exact confirmation of this fact is provided by the dates given in Shi-lu (Shih-lu),[20] from which we also know that it was indeed the emperor Tjiän-lung, who started from Peking on his third journey to Yenden on VII, 20, 1778.

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[20] Shih-lu is the Manchu Yargiyan kooli (the trustworthy, reliable, authentic) annals of a reigning emperor's life, compiled after his death by his successor on the throne, and is a complete diary of every month of the late emperor's life. For Shih-lu see W. Fuchs, Beiträge zur Mandschurischen Bibliographie und Literatur. Tokyo 1939, 58–71.

PART FOUR

RELIGION

■ Source: Ch'en, Chieh-hsien, 'Religious and lay symbolism of imperial Manchu practices in observing the New Year', in Klaus Sagaster & Helmut Eimer (eds), *Religious and lay symbolism in the Altaic world and other papers: proceedings of the 27th meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Walberberg, Federal Republic of Germany, June 12th to 17th, 1989, Harrassowitz, pp. 71–76.

RELIGIOUS AND LAY SYMBOLISM OF IMPERIAL MANCHU PRACTICES IN OBSERVING THE NEW YEAR

Chieh-hsien Ch'en

In the early spring of 1596, 50 years before the Manchus came to Peking to rule China, a Korean envoy described the lunar new Year's ceremonies of the Manchu tribe. On New Year's morning at nine o'clock, the tribe assembled to begin the celebration. At the time, the brothers Nurhaci and Šurgaci were the tribe's leaders. They wore new clothes and headgear and sat in the southeast corner of the room. The other officials, relatives, Chinese, the Korean envoy and others stood in the room's four corners and kowtowed to the brothers. After kowtowing, they celebrated, drinking and dancing, with Nurhaci playing the P'i-p'a (琵琶 the balloon guitar), twisting his body as he played. At the end, eight opera singers performed, concluding what was a very pleasant morning. In the afternoon, they gathered to celebrate again, drinking and dancing, with many people becoming very drunk in the process. In the next several days, the tribe continued to have dancing and drinking parties different from the first celebration only in that they were held in the homes of other leaders and were smaller in scale.[1]

This report is what the Korean envoy saw of the early Manchu lunar New Year celebration, which naturally resembled that of the Chinese. However, during the period of Nurhaci and Hong Taiji, historical documents indicate that the Manchus still practiced the ritual of worshipping T'ang-tse (堂子, or *tangse* in Manchu) on New Year's Day. For example, old Manchu archives from 1624 record that: "From five o'clock to seven o'clock in the morning, Nurhaci first went to worship *tangse* and then returned home to worship his ancestors. After eight o'clock, Nurhaci's sons, sons-in-law, ministers, generals, and other officials separately came to wish him a happy new year, following which ensued a grand reception."[2] During the

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[1] Shen Chung-i (申忠一, or Sin Jung'il in Korean), *Chien-chou-wen-chien-lu* (建州聞見録, or *Geonju Mungyeollog* in Korean) (Kuo-feng Publishing Co., Taipei, reprinted).

[2] *Chiu Man-chou tang* (舊滿洲檔, *Early Manchu Archives*), T'ien-ming (天命) ninth year New Year's Day records. (National Palace Museum, Taipei, reprinted).

New Year period, there were games on ice, firework displays, operas, and other types of entertainment, all making the time a very happy one.[3]

New Year's Day of 1627 can serve as another example. Hong Taiji, Nurhaci's son and successor, at dawn led nobles from the Eight Bannermen society and various high civil and military officials to worship *tangse*, where they also practiced the Chinese ritual of the three prostrations before the gods.[4] Two years later, the *tangse* New Year's Day ceremonies also included the burning of paper money to heaven,[5] illustrating another step in the sinicization of the Manchus.

Worship of *tangse* was a ceremony unique to the Manchus, possibly linked to Shamanism. During the New Year's period, regardless of whatever struggle was then taking place within the tribe, everyone went first to worship *tangse*. In 1627, when Amin returned home after the war with Korea, Hong Taiji left the capital city of Mukden to greet Amin in the *tangse* temple and welcome the return of the victorious Manchu army. Of course this was also to thank the gods for their blessing and to worship *tangse*.[6] Previously people said that those who prayed to *tangse* "were naked spirits, whose appearance was very vulgar", and common opinion has been that the early Manchus were primitive and uncultured. Nevertheless, the *tangse* rites included the worship of several fertility and harvest gods, and the physical structure itself was solemn and imposing. Moreover, this ritual continued to be practiced until the end of the nineteenth century, remaining an important part of the New Year's Day ceremonies in Peking.[7]

After the Manchus conquered China in 1644, they became further sinicized, being particularly influenced by Tibetan Lamaism. Their New Year's rituals grew more numerous and became livelier, retaining both a religious and lay flavor. We will now give a brief account of New Year's Day as celebrated by the Ch'ing court.

The Ch'ing court started its New Year celebration activities on the first day of the twelfth lunar month. To welcome the coming of the new year, the emperor on this day wrote the character "fu" (福; felicity) on pieces of paper, which were often red but other colors were also used. These pieces

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[3] Chin-liang (金梁), *Man-chou pi-tang* (滿洲秘檔), pp. 199–200 (Kuo-feng Publishing Co., Taipei, reprinted).

[4] *Chiu Man-chou tang*, T'ien-ts'ung (大聰) first year New Year's Day records (National Palace Museum, Taipei, reprinted).

[5] Chin-liang, *Man-chou pi-tang*.

[6] *Chiu Man-chou tang*, T'ien-ts'ung first year, fourth month, 15th day records.

[7] *Ch'ing-kung yi-wen* (清宮遺聞), pp. 152–153 (Chung-hua Books Co., Taipei).

of paper were then bestowed on his high ministers, who regarded them as expressions of gratitude for meritorious service. This custom started only in the K'ang-hsi period (康熙 1662–1722), and even then was not practiced every year. Only during the Yung-cheng period (雍正 1723–1735) did it attain the status of ritual.[8] In the late years of the Ch'ing, the Empress Dowager Ts'u-hsi (慈禧) also wrote similar characters, although her calligraphy was at best second-rate.

On the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month, the court prepared the ritual gruel associated with that date. The princes, those next in line to them and other nobles usually funded this event, which can be taken as another example of sinicization.[9] However, on this day the emperor remained in his court listening to the Lama chant sutras. After finishing his chanting, the Lama wiped clean his clothes and hat for the emperor, in order to drive away the unlucky sections.[10]

In the middle of the month, the palace grounds were swept, the Buddhist idols were cleaned, and new curtains were installed. Lanterns were hung for decoration in several places to greet the new year. The emperor and his wives and concubines had special new year's clothes made for them. Owing to Peking's cold winters, the women of the court usually wore garments bordered with the squirrel fur, while their new year's clothes were bordered with the pelts of white foxes. The emperor's clothes were even more elegant. It is said that the Ch'ien-lung (乾降 1711–1799) emperor's new year's headgear was woven with more than one piece of fur taken from the legs of black foxes. In addition, his new year's cloak was made of 31,960 pieces of sable tail.[11] Clothes thus extraordinary and elegant could not be made every year and in fact they were worn for several years.

Worship of the Stove God originally was not a popular custom in the imperial family, and for this reason before the K'ang-hsi period the Ch'ing court did not practice these rites. After the Yung-cheng emperor assumed the throne, he fixed the 23rd day as the date for worship of the Stove God, in the K'un-ning (坤寧) palace.[12] Up to 30 different kinds of sacrificial articles, even a sheep's head sometimes, were used in this ritual. The articles also included a particularly sticky kind of candy, and legend said that it was sticky enough to keep shut the Stove God's mouth and thus prevent him from reporting to heaven the misdeeds of men. During the Ch'ien-lung period (1736–1795), tradition claimed that after the emperor sacrificed to the Stove God, every time through the palace gates firecrackers would be set off, so as to frighten away any evil spirits left in the court after the Stove God returned to heaven.[13]

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[8] *Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih cheng-pien* (國朝宮史正編), p. 121. (Student Books Co., Taipei, reprinted.)

[9] *Ch'ing-kung yi-wen*, p. 130.

[10] Ibid., p. 130.

[11] Wu Hsiang-hsiang (吳相湘), *Wan-Ch'ing kung-t'ing shih-chi* (晚清宮庭實紀) (Far Eastern Book Co., Taipei).

[12] *Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih cheng-pien*, p. 203.

The court would also make steamed New Year's cakes as offerings to Buddha and to welcome the new year. While the court relatives and maids gathered together, the eunuchs first mixed the flour and the yeast, and then everyone made New Year's cakes. Whoever made the cake that rose and fell the most was the person most favored by the gods. In the closing days of the Ch'ing the Empress Dowager Ts'u-hsi usually made the best cake, because the court relatives and maids did little less than their best in order to let her win and make her happy.[14]

In the few days that preceded New Year's Eve, one particularly special sacrifice took place in the Yung-ho (雍和) palace, which the emperor was certain to attend. One hundred and eighty-four lamas participated, each carrying a paper flag, twirling them as they chanted sutras. Lamas came dressed as the 28 Chinese zodiac constellations (二十八宿神) and the 12 Chinese symbolic animals (十二生肖), with one man appearing as a deer. When the "spirits" caught the "deer", it was seen as a happy omen of felicity and prosperity. At the same time off to the side of the palace, a straw man was constructed. After the lamas had finished chanting, the straw man was carried out the Shen-wu gate (神武門), symbolizing the expulsion of evil spirits.[15]

On New Year's Eve, the emperor made the rounds of the palace grounds, worshipping Buddha and his own ancestors, burning incense and bowing to the idols. In the afternoon, the princesses, noblewomen, and the emperor's wives and concubines went to the emperor's palace to bid farewell to the old year with him. In the evening, the court witnessed a veritable eruption of music which lasted until dawn, and during which of course no one slept. Some people played dice, while others were busy making dumplings. During the last years of the Ch'ing, many court relatives and maids spent this night making breakfast for the Empress Dowager Ts'u-hsi, preparing apples, Chinese olives, lotus seeds and other kinds of food. They all carried meanings of good fortune, with apples representing tranquillity, olives standing for evergreen, and lotus seeds symbolizing everlasting renewal.[16]

On New Year's Day, the emperor's schedule was very full. On the New Year's Day in 1767, for example, the Ch'ien-lung emperor rose early, and before dawn at five o'clock, went to the ancestral temple to worship his ancestors, and then to the *tangse* to worship various gods. From five to seven o'clock, he led relatives, nobles, and many important civil and military officials to pay respects to the Empress Dowager. Officials could only accompany him as far as the Wu gate (午門), being forbidden to enter inside. Afterward, in the T'ai-ho (太和) and Chung-ho (中和) palaces, the emperor received best wishes separately from civil and military officials, and envoys from Mongolia, the Moslem territories, and Korea. Before noon, the emperor went to the Ta-kao (大高) and Huang-shou (皇壽) palaces to pay his respects as well as to the Hung-jen (弘仁) and Jen-shou (仁壽) temples, burning incense and praying for the gods' blessings. In the afternoon after one o'clock, the high ministers celebrated in the Ch'ien-ch'ing (乾清) palace at a banquet given them by the emperor, and then returned to the court to rest.[17] The emperor himself had a banquet with numerous officials, complete with music and skits for entertainment. While the emperor was eating, he sometimes passed out gifts to his ministers. The food that day consisted of meat, vegetables, yellow wine, Kaumiss, and milk tea, costing altogether perhaps more than four tael (or ounce) of silver. This type of large reception was customary and would be cancelled only in special cases such as when the emperor was in mourning or the sun or moon was in eclipse.[18]

On the second day of the new year, the high ministers went to eat the sacrificial meats. This ritual, in which the meat was placed at the end of a pole and then held aloft to heaven, originated with Manchu Shamanism. After the Manchus came to Peking. they mounted a pole in the K'un-ning palace, and during all four seasons sacrificed there to heaven. On this day, the court relatives assembled to sacrifice, after which the emperor, the nobles and officials used their own personal knives to cut the meats and then ate them. Yellow wine, soup and rice complemented this feast. This meal was part of the Manchu tradition, and those attendants naturally were the officials and nobles favored by the emperor and, it was said, blessed by the gods.[19]

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[13] *Ch'ing-kung yi-wen*, p. 203.

[14] Ibid., p. 100.

[15] Ibid., pp. 130–131.

[16] Wu Hsiang-hsiang, *Wan-Ch'ing kung-ting hsih-chi.*

[17] *Ch'i-chü-chu* (起居注), the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's 32 year, first month, first day records (kept at National Palace Museum collection in Taipei).

[18] *Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih cheng-pien*, pp. 205–213; *Ch'ing-kung yi-wen*, p. 132.

The Ch'ing court's New Year celebration lasted until the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth days of the first lunar month. During these three days, however, the festivities were particularly colorful. For example, on the fourteenth day, the emperor invited several high officials to the Ch'ien-ch'ing palace. Especially fine food, wine and tea were prepared for what was a happy affair. After they finished eating, those assembled made poems in praise of peace and prosperity.[20] The Lantern Festival marked the fifteenth day. In the afternoon the emperor ventured outside the city to watch the Eight Bannermen horseriding performance. The show included riders whipping their horses into a gallop, while they stood with one or both legs on the horse's back. Another feat saw two horses from opposite directions pass each other at a gallop, with their riders leaping in mid-air to exchange their mounts. Needless to say, this stunt was extremely exciting and, generally speaking, this event demonstrated that the Manchus did not forget their martial tradition.[21] In the evening the court gathered by the lantern lights, where hundreds of lanterns spelled out *T'aiping Wan-sui* (太平萬歲) four Chinese characters, which mean "Peace everlasting", and similar *sentiments*, in what was an impressive sight.[22] On the sixteenth, the emperor again invited his high officials to drink wine, listen to music and watch operas. At the banquet's conclusion there was a firework display, with the officials usually staying until very late.[23]

The descriptions above recount the ceremonies as they were practiced during the heyday of the Ch'ing dynasty. After the Opium War, the situation worsened, especially after Peking was attacked in 1860 by the Anglo-French army. That year the Hsien-feng (咸豐) emperor had a particularly sad and simple New Year's period which he was forced to spend in Jehol. The court was unable to conduct many activities and religious rituals in traditional fashion nor on the same scale as to which they were accustomed.[24]

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[19] *Ch'ing-kung yi-wen*, p. 133.
[20] Ibid., p. 35.
[21] Ibid., p. 133.
[22] Ibid., p. 133.
[23] Ibid., p. 35; p. 133.
[24] Wu Hsiang-hsiang, *Wan-Ch'ing kung-ting shih-chi.*

From this simple account we can note the following: 1) starting from the end of the sixteenth century, the New Year's Day activities of the Manchus became more numerous, livelier, and more complex, reaching their peak in the era which began with the K'ang-hsi period and ended with that of Ch'ien-lung; 2) the Manchu emperor's New Year's activities contained both religious and secular rituals. Their early religious rites were linked with original shamanistic beliefs, but later they gradually fell under the influence of the Tibetan lamas. Their secular events became more festive as they assimilated into the Han Chinese culture; 3) even during the last years of the nineteenth century as the Ch'ing dynasty was on the eve of collapsing, the New Year's ceremonies of the Manchus still retained several features of their traditional culture and touches of Lamaism. However, it is undeniable that the influence of the Han-Chinese culture on the Manchus grew steadily during their reign.

■ Source: Stary, Giovanni, 'The Manchu Imperial Shamanic Complex Tangse', in *Shaman*. Vol. 17, Nos. 1–2 Spring/Autumn 2009, Molnar & Kelemen Oriental Publishers, Budapest, pp. 171–180.

THE MANCHU IMPERIAL SHAMANIC COMPLEX *TANGSE*

Giovanni Stary*

Tangse, *a Chinese loanword meaning 'hall', is the general Manchu designation of the temple complex where the Manchu imperial clan Aisin Gioro celebrated its shamanic rites to Heaven and the protective spirits. Such* tangse *existed in all capitals of the Manchu khanate and the Qing empire, and its rites (which were codified in 1747 by the Qianlong Emperor under the title* Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe) *are well known and had already been translated into French in 1887. Some questions, however, remained unresolved or were misinterpreted: the present paper offers a new interpretation and describes the various sites where imperial* tangse *existed.*

The Tangse *in Peking*

During the Manchu Qing dynasty there existed two places in Peking where the Imperial Court celebrated its shamanic rites, inherited from ancestors living in Manchuria. One place was the so-called Kunning gong Palace (Pang: 1993) located inside the Forbidden City, and the other was the *tangse*, a Manchu word that is clearly of Chinese origin (*tangzi* 'hall'). The Kunning gong Palace was the sacrificial place reserved for the imperial family, while the *tangse* was open to the high nobility of the Aisin Gioro clan. Because of its political, social and religious importance, the *tangse* was one of the first buildings constructed in Peking immediately after its conquest; the date of the beginning of its construction was October 14, 1644 (Corradini 2005: 388). It was located outside the southeast corner of the Forbidden City, near the Chang'an left gate and east of the Yuhe Bridge. After the Boxer uprising and the consequent enlargement of the legation quarter, the site it occupied was given (in 1901) to Italy for the construction of its embassy. Since the emperor, to celebrate the rites there, had to formally ask the permission of a foreign state to enter an extraterritorial area—which was of course unthinkable for a Chinese emperor—the *tangse* was abandoned and destroyed, and in 1904 a new one was built on the north side of Chang'an Street, on the site where the west wing of the Beijing Hotel was later constructed. Nowadays, no trace is left either of the old or of the newly built *tangse*, which was almost identical to the old one (Ishibashi 1934: 60–61, fig. 1), and seemingly the only existing photographic evidence of the old *tangse* complex is found

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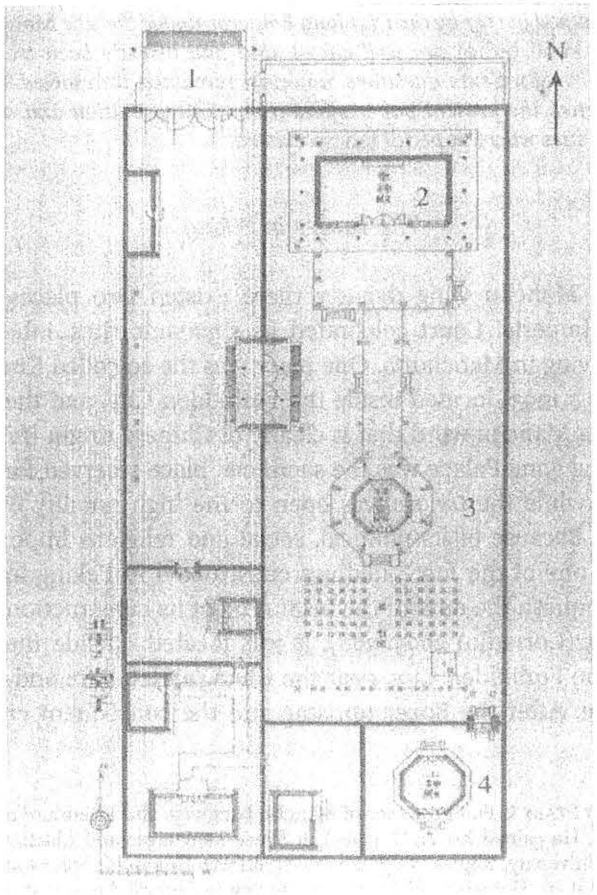

Figure 1. Ground plan of the newly built *tangse* in Peking, 20th century, 1: entrance 2: main sacrifical hall 3: octagonal temple, pavilion (*ordo*) 4: Shang shen dian or *Šangsi Enduri Ordo* 'Supreme Deity Hall' (Ishibashi 1934: between pages 60 and 61).

in Guan and Gong (eds) 1993: 33 (pl. 13 *a*). Nevertheless, we have a good idea of the old Beijing *tangse* thanks to an imperially commissioned "Code of sacrifices to Heaven and Gods of the Manchu," dating from 1747 in Manchu (*Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe*), and thirty years later in a Chinese translation (*Manzhou jishen jitian dianli*) that was included in the *Siku quanshu*. It contains all the prayers to Heaven and the tutelary spirits, with a detailed description of all sacrifices and rites performed in the *tangse* (and the Kunning gong Palace), and has been studied by generations of orientalists (Di Cosmo 1999). A full French translation was published in 1887 (De Harlez 1887).

The sixth and last chapter of this work contains drawings of all the paraphernalia and objects used for the rites and sacrifices, and among them is a ground plan of the *tangse* itself (fig. 2). From this plan we learn that the *tangse* was *not* a simple "shaman temple" (as the term is generally translated), but a walled complex of several buildings, three of which were devoted to worship.

Entering from the north, and passing a railing (*hiyatari*) and a guard post (*juce-i boo*), one arrived in a courtyard planted with trees, where there was a kind of storage-room for offerings (*gindaha ulin baita de teisulefi fayabume wecere boo*) with a nearby lavatory (*horho boo*). Turning left, one went through a gate with three doors into the main complex, where, on

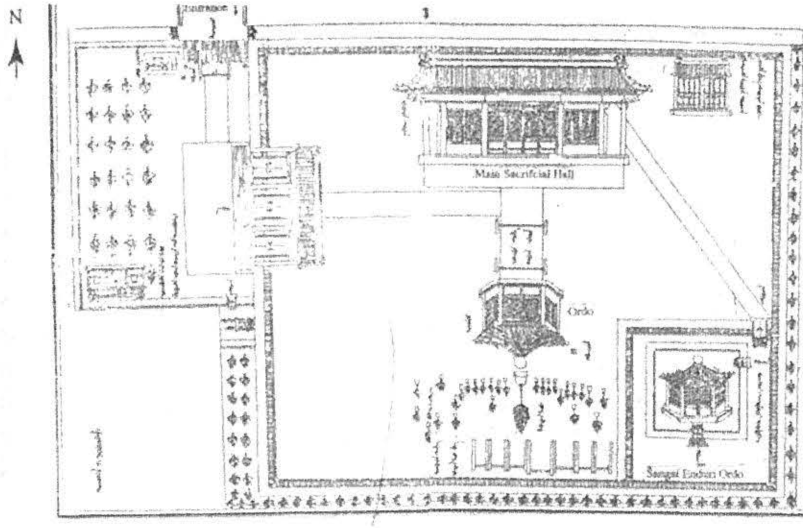

Figure 2. Ground plan of the old *tangse* in Peking (*Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe*, 1747, VI. 1–2).

the left side was located the great "sacrificial hall" (*wecere deyen*, pl. 13 *b*). South of this was the octagonal temple, called *ordo* ('pavilion', pl. 13 *c*), and to the north there was a frame for the *siren futa*. The *siren futa* (two synonymous words, both meaning 'rope') was a rope to which colored paper and cloth were attached, and which during rituals was tied between willow trees and the altar.

South of the *ordo* was the place for the *siltan moo* 'pole-tree', which in the Chinese version is referred to by the more descriptive term *shen'gan*, meaning 'pole of the spirits'. South of the pole-tree there was a place for storing the pole-tree when it was not in use (*siltan moo be sindaha tehe*).

On the left side of the "sacrificial hall" (*wecere deyen*), a big storage room for flags and paper money (*lakiyaha girdan hoošan jiha be asarara boo*) was built.

Starting from the sacrificial hall and proceeding in a northwesterly direction, one arrived at a temple surrounded by a wall, called *Šangsi enduri ordo* (Pavilion of the God Šangsi), whose octagonal shape is almost identical to the *ordo* found in front of the sacrificial hall. But in this case we are faced with a problem which is still not definitely resolved. Who is the "deity" (*enduri*) called Šangsi (尚錫), and why only to him was a special temple devoted, where he was worshipped along with "Heaven's children" (*abkai juse*)? Many tentative explanations have been offered in the past, by both Chinese and European scholars. Chinese researchers proposed an identification with the Ming general Deng Zilong, the genius of sowing, and the protective genius against smallpox.[1] Among the few European interpretations we must cite De Harlez, the translator of the "Code," who linked the term with Chinese *Shangdi* 上帝, "Supreme Emperor," admitting however that he could not explain the passage of the Chinese "di" into the Manchu "si" (De Harlez 1887: 14–15). Shirokogoroff accepted this idea, and found the evolution from Chinese "di" into Manchu "si" (pronounced "ši") quite normal as being due to typical Manchu palatalization principles. Furthermore, he added that among the Manchu living in Peking (but not among those living in remote Manchuria!) this word substituted under Chinese cultural influence the original word *abka* 'Heaven' (Shirokogoroff 1935: 123–124). Even in Chinese the same evolution is quoted in Mathews' dictionary, where the following sentence is found: *shangdi tian ye* "Shangti is Heaven." (Mathews 1972: 780) This equivalence "*šangsi* = heaven" is now widely accepted and translated correctly as

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[1] For a résumé of Chinese interpretations, see Jiang 1995: 46.

'Himmelsgeist' in German (Gimm 2001: 580) or as 'le maître suprême de tous les esprits célestes' in French (Delaby 1998: 31). What is wrong here, however, is the starting point: *šangsi* is not a Manchu "adaptation" of Chinese *shangdi*, but originated—in our opinion—from Chinese *shangshen* (上神) 'Supreme deity', an alternative name that is frequently used for the Šangsi (in Chinese *shangxi* 尚錫) temple. The proof of this origin is found in the "Old Manchu Archives" called *Jiu Manzhou dang*, where at its first mention (in a date corresponding to July 31, 1636) the form *Šang ǰin* is found in old Manchu script (vol. X, f. 4925), and old Manchu *ǰin* could not but originate from Chinese *shen*.

In conclusion, we may assert that *šangsi* is not the name of a god, but a paraphrastic term indicating 'heaven'. And 'heaven' (*amba abka, dergi abka* 'great/supreme heaven") was the first Manchu religious deity, to which the emperors—first of all Nurhaci—addressed themselves in their prayers. It is therefore not a surprise to find in the *tangse* an isolated temple devoted only to Heaven. As an additional proof, we may recall that in the already mentioned floor plan of the new *tangse* (fig. 1) the *Šangsi enduri ordo* is now called *Shang shen dian* 'Supreme deity hall'.

The Tangse *in Mukden (Shenyang)*

Mukden, now Shenyang, was the capital of the Manchu empire from 1625 to 1643. One year after its conquest, the Manchu ruler Nurhaci died and was succeeded by his eighth son Hong Taiji. Among the "great enterprises" of this ruler we find the continuation of the war with China, the submission of Korea, and the transformation of the feudal khanate into an empire following the Chinese model. In doing this, Hong Taiji ordered the construction of an "Altar of Heaven" (*Tiantan*), an "Altar of Earth" (*Ditan*), an "Ancestral temple" (*Taimiao*) and, following Manchu traditions, a *tangse*.[2] Very little is known about when the *tangse* was constructed, and sources refer to it only in the year 1636, on the eve of a campaign against China, when the above-mentioned prayer to *Šang ǰin enduri* was registered in the "Old Manchu Archives" (Stary 1993).

This *tangse* was located east of the Fujin Gate of the inner city's eastern wall, near its southeast corner, as seen on an 18th century map of Mukden published in the "Imperially commissioned General Description of Shengjing" (fig. 3).[3] A plan of the *tangse* is found in the *Shengjing tongzhi*, where we surprisingly discover that it is almost identical in shape to the *tangse* in Beijing. And. like the Beijing *tangse*, the Mukden complex was built near the southeast corner of the inner city wall. In other words, the *tangse* in Beijing was nothing other than a greater copy of the Mukden *tangse* (Corradini 2005: 390, fig. 4). The Mukden *tangse* has now disappeared, like the "Altar of Heaven" and the "Altar of Earth," but good photographic evidence has been preserved by the Japanese scholar Naitō Torajirō (1935: 51–56, pl. 14 *a*), in addition, a reconstruction of a *tangse* can now be seen in the Manchu Folklore Museum near Shenyang (pl. 14 *b*).

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[2] For more details, see Zhou 2000.

The Tangse *in Hetu Ala (Yenden)*

Before the conquest of Shenyang, the capital of the Manchu khanate was a small fortified town about 150 km southeast of Mukden, named Hetu Ala, a name which in 1636 was changed into Yenden, in Chinese Xingjing.

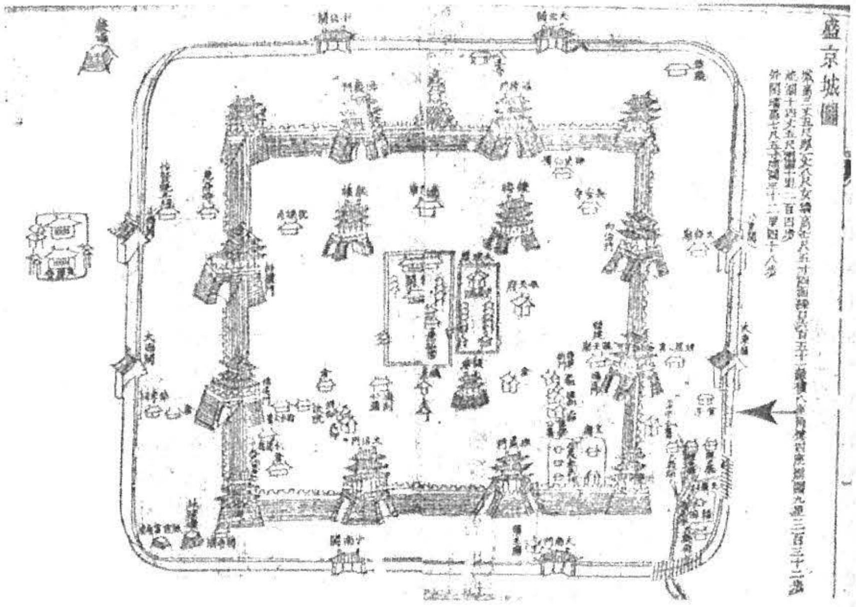

Figure 3. 18th century map of Mukden, with location of the *tangse* indicated by arrow (*Shengjing tongzhi* I: 1a–b).

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[3] *Qinding Shengjing tongzhi* I: 38.

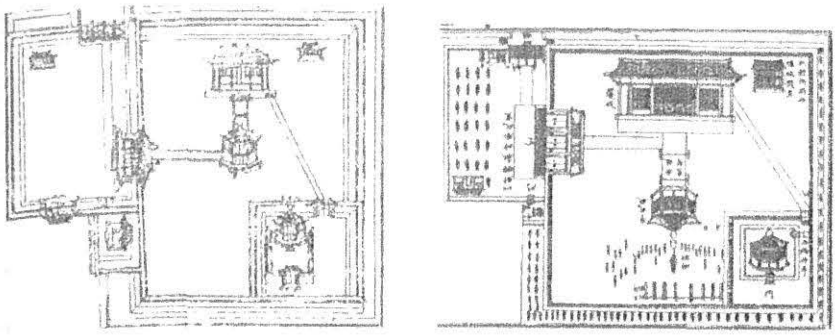

Figure. 4. The *tangse* in Mukden (left) and Peking (right) (Corradini 2005: 390).

Hetu Ala too had its *tangse*, located (like those in Mukden and Beijing) on the southeast corner of the city wall. The *tangse* disappeared a long time ago, but from recent excavations we know that it was a building measuring approximately 16 × 23 meters (Fu et al. 1994: 29–56). It was in that building that Nurhaci often prayed to Heaven for assistance before he undertook his battles against the Ming, as well as on the eve of other military enterprises (Di Cosmo 1996: 16). According to Chinese sources (Li 2002: 60),[4] a *tangse* had probably existed there since 1535, and it was where in summer 1583 the Aisin Gioro clan members met to swear an oath to kill Nurhaci, whose power was growing day by day, provoking the jealousy of his clan (Hauer 1926: 7).

The Tangse *in Fe Ala*

Before Nurhaci moved his residence to Hetu Ala in 1603, he lived in an anonymous settlement south of Hetu Ala, which in later sources is called Fe Ala 'Old Hill'. This residence—nothing more than a fortified village—was carefully described in 1596 by a Korean envoy, Sin Ch'ungil, in his work *Kŏnchu kichŏng toki*, which also contains a drawing of the city that has been published and analyzed several times (Stary 1981). Sin Ch'ungil mentions a hall which can be identified with the *tangse*, since incense was burned there and every day two geese were "cooked" and sacrificed.

In October 1593, on the eve of the war against a coalition of nine Jurchen tribes, Nurhaci went there and prayed for Heaven's assistance. This is the oldest Manchu prayer we know of, and it contains the following request addressed to Heaven (Stary 2000):

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[4] According to Corradini (2005: 382), at that time it was probably only a tent.

> *batai uju de fusihūn obu,*
> *mini uju be wesihun obu.*
> *mini coohai niyalmai jafaha šusiha be ume tuhebure,*
> *yaluha morin be ume buduribure.*
> *eršeme wehiyeme yabubu.*
>
> Make the enemies' heads be in downward position!
> Make my own head be in upright position!
> Make the whips held by my soldiers not be lost!
> Make the saddle-horses not stumble!
> Let [me] go ahead with [your] assistance and your help!

Conclusion

In lieu of a conclusion, our findings may be summarized in the following five points:

(1) During the Qing period, the *tangse* was not a single hall or temple, but a complex with three main buildings for worship, i.e. a great sacrificial hall (*wecere deyen*), a temple for worshipping special clan spirits (*ordo*), and a temple for worshipping Heaven (*Šangsi enduri ordo*).
(2) *Šangsi enduri* originated from Chinese *shangshen* ('supreme spirit', old Manchu *sangǰin*) and was used instead of *abka* 'Heaven'.
(3) The *tangse* in Peking was a reproduction of the *tangse* in Mukden.
(4) The change from a simple "hall" (as in Hetu Ala and Fe Ala) to an architectonical complex is probably due to Chinese influence.
(5) All *tangse* were built on the southeast corner near the inner city wall. Why this position was chosen is a question which still awaits explanation.

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■ Source: Shi, Kun, 'Ny Dan, the Manchu shamaness', in Lopez, Donald S. Jr. (ed.), *Religions of China in practice*. © 1996 Princeton University Press, pp. 223–228. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

NY DAN THE MANCHU SHAMANESS

Kun Shi

Among the different Tungus-speaking groups in northeastern China, the Manchu people are the largest by population (9.8 million in 1990) and the best known to the West because of their 267-year rule of China in the Qing dynasty, the last dynastic period, which ended in 1911. The Manchu are found in almost every corner of China, but most of them live in the three northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. Once herders and hunters, they are now farmers and city dwellers. Thirteen Manchu autonomous counties were established in Hebei, Jilin, and Liaoning provinces between 1985 and 1989.

Unlike many minority ethnic groups in South China, the Manchu do not have any subgroups; they have a complex clan system, which remains an important socioeconomic institution in rural areas. Although they may be known to readers of English only as Manchu, they have been called *Manzu* (Man nationality) by the Chinese since 1911 and officially identified as such since the 1950s. Through history, they were variably recorded as Sushen in the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1027–256 BCE), Yilou in the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE), Wuji in the Northern dynasties (386–550 CE), Mohe in the Sui and Tang dynasties (589–907 CE), and Nüzhen, or Jurchen, from the late Tang to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The name Jurchen was replaced by Manchu in 1635, a decade before China was conquered by the Manchu to establish the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

The Manchu have been linguistically and culturally influenced by the people of Central China, the Han Chinese, particularly for those who migrated from former Manchuria to other parts of China. However, they are certainly not completely sinicized, as many Chinese scholars and most Western researchers have believed. Numerous publications about the Manchu and fieldwork conducted by ethnologists in rural areas in recent years suggest that the Manchu language, folkways, belief system (shamanism), and folklore have not died out; on the contrary, they are growing strongly as part of a nationalistic cultural revival The Manchu language has become the second language in the growing number of

Manchu autonomous counties; the Manchu script, designed based on Mongolian in 1599, with forty letters and written vertically from left to right, is used by some Manchu elders and shamans. The Qing-style dress, *changshan*, is still common for the elderly, especially at rituals. Genealogical practices and the worship of images are performed. Each courtyard house has a niche for making offerings to ancestors. The houses generally face south; inside heatable brick beds (*kang*) are located on the north and west side. A dying person cannot sleep on the western *kang* because the area above it is for storing genealogical records and statues of ancestors. At weddings, two poles are erected in the yard, one for making offerings to the clan deities and the other for offerings to the wild spirits. When a person dies, the coffin should be taken out through the window, so the diseased spirit may not find its way back to harm the living. *Hala* (clan) as the traditional form of social organization is still active, and the *mukunda* (clan chief) is respected and has the power of social control comparable to that of local officials. Above all, the shamanic practices of the Manchu are now so popular that the shamans are honored as living treasures and the shamanic tradition is regarded as an important element in Manchu ethnic identity. Today, young shamans are being initiated and shamanic rituals are conducted openly in a tolerant atmosphere.

Archaeological discoveries and historical records show that the Manchu ancestors practiced the archaic tradition of shamanism about three thousand years ago. But the Tungus-Manchu word *saman* for "shaman" was first recorded in Chinese by Xu Mengshen in a twelfth-century publication, *A Collection of Agreements Reached by the Three Kingdoms* [*Liao, Jin and Xixia*] (*Sanchao beimeng huibian*): "The Jurchen shamans are like *wuyu* (sorceresses). They can transform their shape and perform magic." Later the term shaman was introduced to Europe. "Shaman" in Manchu means "those who are the most knowledgeable." This coincides with the requirement that the Manchu shamans be masters of their folklore, rituals, healing techniques, and other aspects of their culture. In practice shamans are able to ascend or descend into the other worlds in ecstasy, or altered states of consciousness, to achieve and maintain well-being and healing for themselves as well as for members of their communities. Because shamanism is so interwoven with other aspects of Manchu culture, scholars argue that shamanism forms the foundation of the cultural traditions of the Manchu as well as other Tungus groups in northeastern China.

The Manchu shamans observe two forms of practices: clan ancestral worship and the more archaic form of wild-spirits worship. The Former includes elaborate and standardized rituals that were favored by the Qing imperial court; whereas the latter is more spontaneous, involving such ecstatic performances as fire-walking and magical flight. But some components are essential to both forms: drums, percussion waist bells, the sacred *solo* (sky) pole, divination, ecstatic dancing, and ritual chanting all contribute to the cultivation of supernatural power and the process of healing.

Numerous volumes of Manchu folklore and ethnographic collections, most of which are related to the shamanic theme, have recently been published. One of the best-known folktales is the legend of Ny Dan ("Nü Dan" in Chinese) the shamaness. In longer versions, the same basic story appears in myth or epic forms under the title of *Nisan Shamaness.* The term "legend" is used here because *Ny Dan the Shamaness* chiefly represents legendary historical figures.

Ny Dan the Shamaness was recorded by the Manchu scholar Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichun in 1985 from an older Manchu named Ji Chunsheng. Ji was nearly eighty years old at the time of recording and lived in Sanjiazi Village, Youyi Township, Fuyu County, Heilongjiang Province. The legend was narrated in Manchu and recorded in Manchu script, phonetic symbols, and Chinese transliteration and translation, with detailed notes. Based on the content of the story, *Ny Dan the Shamaness* may be the prototype of *Nisan Shamaness*, which is circulated among all Tungus-speaking groups (the Ewenki, Hezhen, Manchu, Orochun, and Sibe) and the Daur people in northeastern China.

Apart from being a fascinating legend, *Ny Dan the Shamaness* offers several clues to the understanding of Manchu shamanism and history. First, female shamans were the most powerful and common. Manchu myths relate that the Almighty Sky Deity created Nisan (Ny Dan) and sent her down as the first shaman to teach humankind. Historical records and myths show that the Manchu once had female shamans. The reason that they now only have male shamans is probably due to the rise of patriarchal dominance. Second, shamanhood can be obtained through learning. Among the Manchu, only the intelligent young people are chosen to become shamans, and they have to spend years learning to read Manchu scriptures, to recite chants and chant songs, and to master the techniques of healing through ecstasy. Third, the drum is an important vehicle for the magical flight of the shaman(ess). Many Manchu myths describe how shamans ride their drums to the other worlds to retrieve wandering souls or to obtain healing power. The constant drumming can induce an ecstatic state. Fourth, Tibetan Buddhist monks and lamas are the opponents of shamans. Although there are traces of Tibetan Buddhist influence over shamanism, they belong to two different systems. The conflict in the legend reflects the real Tibetan Buddhist persecution of the shamans (mainly in Mongolia) from the late sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Fifth, shamans may earn a living as healers or soul retrievers. Shamans in traditional societies are generally nonprofessionals; they farm or herd as the common folk do. But many of the Manchu shamans did become professional during the Qing dynasty. Finally, the shaman's power is both boundless and limited. Ny Dan is so powerful that even the emperor has to ask for her help; but there is a limit to her power to retrieve the souls. Ny Dan is like a deity, capable of mobilizing the sacred eagle, but she is at the mercy of the envious Tibetan monks (called "lamas" in the story) and the ungrateful emperor. However, the shamanic power outlasts that of the emperor, and the shamaness eventually becomes an immortal. As the legend ends, Ny Dan not only is still dancing and drumming somewhere below or above but also is attracting Manchu people to carry on the shamanic tradition.

The following text was narrated by Ji Chunsheng and recorded by Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichun, Central Academy of Nationalities Beijing, China. Textual source: "Ny Dan Saman [Ny Dan Shamaness]," in Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichum *Manzu gu shenhua* (*Ancient Myths of the Manchu*) (Huhhot: Inner Mongolian People's Press, 1986), pp. 88–106.

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Ny Dan, the Shamaness

Ny Dan the shamaness was twenty years old when her husband died. To support her mother-in-law, she learned the art of shamanism. After gaining the shamanic techniques, Ny Dan helped her people to heal the sick. She could even revive a deceased person soon after death by entering the lower world and bringing back the soul. As time went by, Ny Dan's shamanic power gradually increased.

One day the crown prince was seriously sick. Two lama priests were called in to the court, but they could not help. The crown prince's sickness went from bad to worse, and he finally died. The emperor wailed over his son's death. When he heard the story that Ny Dan the shamaness could retrieve souls of the dead, the emperor sent his men to ask the shamaness for help. Ny Dan the shamaness was washing clothes when the imperial wagon came, but she picked up her hand drum and set off in the wagon.

Because the emperor invited Ny Dan the shamaness, the two lama priests were furious at her. They hid behind the gate of the imperial palace and attempted to murder the shamaness. On her way, Ny Dan had a vision in which she learned of the plan of the two lama priests. So when she reached the gate of the imperial palace, Ny Dan the shamaness got off the wagon and flew into the palace on her hand drum. Thus the lama priests failed in their conspiracy.

Ny Dan the shamaness stepped down from the drum and met the emperor. Seeing that Ny Dan the shamaness flew into the imperial palace on the drum, the emperor was annoyed.

"No civil officials nor generals under Heaven can enter my palace at will; how dare a shamaness ride on a drum and fly into the palace!" the emperor thought. But anxious to save his son's life, the emperor did not pour out angry words.

The emperor said, "Go to the lower world quickly and bring back the soul of my son!"

As soon as Ny Dan reached the lower world, she met her [deceased] husband, who was boiling in a cauldron of oil. When he saw Ny Dan, he thought: "Gosh! You are also dead?" Then Ny Dan told him how she became a shamaness and learned the shamanic magic.

Ny Dan said: "The soul of the crown prince is in here and the emperor asked me to get it."

The husband said: "If you can help others to retrieve their souls, why do you not save my life?"

"You have been in the lower world too long and your flesh has decayed. I am not able to revive your soul now. Even if I took your soul back, you could not live as before."

Ny Dan's husband was very disappointed and angry. He quarreled with her and blocked her way. Ny Dan was angered and, with her magic, threw her husband's soul far away into a deep waterwell in Fengdu town. Now his soul could never be reincarnated again. It was in this matter that Ny Dan committed a sin.

Ny Dan the shamaness walked swiftly forward and finally found the soul of the crown prince playing on a thick layer of grass. She quickly caught the soul in her hand and flew back to the human world.

The emperor was very pleased with the revival of his son. He offered a grand feast and invited many people for celebration. At the feast, the emperor suddenly thought of his younger sister who died years ago; so he asked Ny Dan to retrieve her soul.

Ny Dan replied: "Your sister died three years ago and her flesh has already decomposed. Even if I could obtain her soul, she cannot be revived."

The emperor was displeased on hearing the reply. Thinking of Ny Dan once riding her drum into the imperial palace and now refusing the imperial request, the emperor became furious. At this moment, the two lama priests came to the emperor and criticized Ny Dan.

They told the emperor: "Ny Dan the shamaness can actually revive your sister's soul, but she does not intend to do it." The emperor was outraged. He ordered Ny

Dan to be thrown into a deep well in the west, wrapped in a heavy iron chain. Ny Dan thus died in the well due to the false charges of the two lama priests.

After Ny Dan's death, the imperial palace was shadowed with pitch-darkness for three days. The emperor was puzzled and asked his ministers: "What is happening?"

A minister carefully observed the sky and replied: "The dark days are not because of clouds, but due to the wings of a big bird. Please ask a master archer to shoot at the sky and see what will happen."

The emperor asked one of his generals to shoot an arrow into the sky, and a piece of the Eagle Deity's tail feather fell from above. The feather was so big that a wagon could not hold it.

The minister said: "This is because Ny Dan the shamaness died of unjust treatment. It is said that she could summon the Eagle Deity for help. So the dark days are caused by her wandering soul, seeking revenge."

Hearing such words, the emperor repented and addressed [Ny Dan]: "If you really died of unjust treatment, I will order the Manchu to conduct offering rituals in honor of you while making offerings to their deities."

As soon as the emperor finished, the dark sky suddenly became clear. Since that time, the Manchu must present offerings to the Eagle Deity when they make ritual offerings to their ancestors. Ny Dan the shamaness is regarded as the creator of all shamans.

Even today, anyone passing by the well where Ny Dan was chained can hear the shamanic drumming and dancing. Some people have attempted to pull out the iron chain that held Ny Dan the shamaness, but the chain is endless.

■ Source: Mende, Erling von, 'Performed spontaneity: The bureaucratization of shamanic ways in the Qianlong-era', in *Asiatische Studien*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (2004), Performing cultures in East Asia: China, Korea, Japan, pp. 567–580.

PERFORMED SPONTANEITY: THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF SHAMANIC WAYS IN THE QIANLONG-ERA

Erling von Mende

Who must be more of a performer than an emperor who has to act multiple roles? And who among Chinese emperors could better fit the role of a multi-talented positionist than the Manchu emperors of late traditional China, who not only ruled a multicultural and multiethnic empire by shear might at first, but then had to satisfy the ethnically and culturally different peoples of China, principally the Han Chinese, the Mongolians, the Tibetans and the Manchus themselves by convincing them that their emperor were one of their own.[1] And, among the Manchu emperors none tried to fill his different positions as seemingly consciously and successfully as the Qianlong Emperor.[2]

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[1] On the problem of multiethnicity for nation-building cf. Michael Ng-Quinn, "National Identity in Premodern China: Formation and Role Enactment," in: *China's Quest for National Identity.* Rds. Lowell Dittmer and Samuel S. Kim. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1993, pp. 32–61; and James L. Watson, "Rites or Beliefs? The Construction of a Unified Culture in Late Imperial China," ibid., pp. 80–103.

[2] Still the most comprehensive and thoughtful analysis of this emperor seems to me to be Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP 1971. An exceptionally readable study on the Qianlong Emperor is Alexander Woodside's chapter on the Ch'ien-lung Reign, in, *The Cambridge History of China.* Vol. 9. Part 1: *The Ch'ing Empire to 1800,* ed. Wiliard J. Peterson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP 2002, pp. 230–309, with a very good overview on how this emperor has been seen by his contemporaries and in later historiography, including the changing view on him during the last twenty years or so (e.g. pp. 235–245 et passim). But, to get to know the less Chinese or even non-Chinese roles taken on by this emperor one has to turn *inter alia* to David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978), pp. 5–34, and Martin Gimm, "Zum mongolischen Mahâkâla-Kult zum Beginn der Qing-Dynastie—die Inschrift *Shisheng beiji* von 1638," in: *Oriens Extremus* 42 (2000/01), pp. 69–103 (with earlier research) mostly intended for the Mongols and Tibetans belonging to the Qing-empire. The Manchu stance of the Qianlong Emperor has, except in the narrow field of Manchu studies, only caught the attention of the Sinologists since they have become conscious of how important the Manchu aspect of Qing rule actually was. This was brought to the fore first by Chinese Qing history specialists, and has been a persistent theme in American Sinology since the late eighties of the twentieth century. To name only the two foremost protagonists, see Pamela Kyle Crossley with *inter alia* her *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Ideology.* Berkeley: University of California Press 1999 and her slender volume in the

In the Chinese way, the Manchu emperors had not only to observe the rules connected with Neo-Confucian state ideology centered around the main notion of *tianming* (the mandate of Heaven), but also to act as an arbiter of good taste in everything considered to be emanations of Chinese high culture, most importantly in poetry, painting and calligraphy. To the Mongols, they had to prove themselves worthy and true successors of Chinggis Khan, to the Tibetans, to be the personification of the Wheel of the law, of Buddha-truth, which is able to crush all evil and all opposition.[3] To their own social group, consisting of a conglomeration of distinct lineages (*mukôn*) known since about 1635 under the common denomination of the Manchus, they owed the upkeep of the Manchu language and the traditional military training by the battue, the preservation of notable old customs and religious practices, especially of the shamanic ways. All these different roles had to be filled in such a way that they did not collide with each other. None of the Manchu emperors tried to fill these different roles as consciously and energetically as the Qianlong Emperor, although of course, he was not alone in this.

In the following I will confine myself to his attempt at keeping shamanism alive, while at the same time he was trying to convince the others—mainly the Chinese—that the shamanic practices were neither strange nor uncouth. Let me first quote what one of my favourite sinological books says about Manchu shamanism and the Qianlong emperor's significance for its codification, although naturally Wittfogel and Feng only touch upon this subject peripherically, since they are not concerned with the Qing. Still, their decision to include the comment seems reasonable, since they are treating another and earlier of those "barbarian" Altaic dynasties that ruled parts or all of China for so many centuries:[4]

Peoples of Asia series *The Manchus*. Oxford: Blackwell 2002 (1st ed. 1997) and Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way. The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford UP 2001 among others. Also conscious of the Manchu importance is Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1998. An explicit theoretical performative approach to the Qianlong Emperor has been attempted by Angela Zito in her *Of Body & Brush*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1997 (her Ph.D. thesis from the University of Chicago from 1989 *Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance: Ritual and Writing in Eighteenth-century China*). Regrettably here as in an article "Silk and Skin: Significant Boundaries," in: *Body, Subject & Power in China*. Eds. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1994, pp. 103–130 her contributions, though fascinating, suffer from philological carelessness, with a tendency to make things more esoteric than they are.

[3] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus*, p. 120.

[4] Karl August Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society 1949 (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society N.S. 36.1946), p. 14.

The Manchus also continued to practise their native religion. Emperor Kao-tsung, known by the reign-title Ch'ien-lung (1736–1796), carefully observed the ceremonies described in the imperial Chinese code; yet he simultaneously upheld the creed of his Manchu forefathers. In 1747 he ordered the unification of Manchu ritual A new code, prefaced by his personal introduction, which like the entire work was written in Manchu, prescribed ritualistic procedures that differed little from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While it revealed strong Chinese influences (note 219: Besides the use of rice and silk, a conspicuous Chinese feature is the participation of the eunuchs in certain ceremonies),[5] it continued to emphasize many tribal features. The Manchu deities were conceived as indefinite "spirits," not as the gods of mountains, rivers, the soil or hearth, so characteristic in Chinese religion. Contact with Manchu spirits was maintained through shamans (note 221: The Chinese transliteration *si zhu zhi ren* 司祝之人 "man in charge of prayers" expresses well the priestlike character of the shaman, but, interestingly, disregards his tribal background), while the Emperor, who was the spearhead of Chinese ritual observance, acted merely as a helper in Manchu ceremonies. Again in contrast to Chinese custom, Manchu procedure permitted the presence and active participation of women (the empress, female shamans, "women" [note 225: Possibly the female helpers mentioned are the female shamans discussed in chapter III of the code.]). Sacrifices and prayers were not only offered in the hope of a good crop, they also asked the welfare of the horse herds and saddle horses. While pork was sacrificed by the Chinese in combination with beef and mutton, the Manchus, firm in their Tungus tradition (and their interest in pig-breading), continued to make pork their chief offering, even when asking benefits for their horses (note 231: An exception was made for the funeral service; then beef and mutton might be offered instead).[6]

Manchu ritual in the Ch'ing period passed through various phases. The sacrifice of horses and oxen, recorded for the early seventeenth century, is not mentioned in the Ch'ien-lung code. By the twentieth century the shamans had disappeared, but the old deities were still worshipped by nobles and bannermen (note 232: Verbal communication from Mrs. C. Ranong at Harvard, October 29, 1943. Mrs. Ranong is the daughter of a Manchu princess who during the days of the Republic still observed Manchu religious ceremonies. According to Mrs. Ranong, noble families held the ceremonies in a room in the rear of their palaces reserved for this purpose. Manchu commoners with less house space available hung a large piece of white cloth on the wall of their main room and held their services there.). After the revolution of 1911–1912 cultural fusion was accelerated. To the casual observer, assimilation now seems complete; actually it is not. The Manchus, while

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[5] Charles de Harlez, *La religion nationale des Tartares Orientaux: Mandchous et Mongols, comparée a la religion des anciens Chinois, d'après les textes indigènes, avec le rituel Tartare de l'empereur K'ien-long, traduit pour la première fois*. 1887, pp. 87 and 104.

[6] Charles de Harlez (1887), p. 77.

> they may explain their traditions by Chinese analogies and frequently recite their prayers in Chinese, still assure the continuance of the ancient forms of some of their social institutions.

Although Wittfogel and Feng, in describing religious customs, go forward in time to show the similarities between different Altaic dynasties, one could go back also and show something of the same religious activities in the almost-Chinese dynasty of the Tang. Let me also quote the one text that seems to me central for our understanding of Qianlong's attempts to bureaucratize Manchu shamanism, that is, the imperial preface to the code of the Manchu shamanic ritual mentioned by Wittfogel and Feng, the *Hesei toktobuha Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe* of 1747.[7] I have dabbled with this text myself for years, but only dabbled I must confess, or, else I would have known about Nicola di Cosmo's splendid article from 1999.[8] This study has deprived me of my original research interest or, perhaps rather of the turn I wanted to take. Di Cosmo includes an English translation of this text, and I believe the preface, more than the six chapters it introduces, clarifies whether the codification of Manchu rituals was a genuine counterweight to Chinese rituals and established Mongolian conceptions, or whether it announced the ignominious death of a central native tradition after many generations of resistance to a dominant Chinese concept.

Of course, di Cosmo's is not the only translation. There exists in French a complete translation of the code by de Harlez.[9] Although it has often been criticized, I believe it still useful, or perhaps more than merely useful. The preface too has been translated by Tatiana Pang—and possibly others—from the Russian by Grebenščikov into German, checking it with the Manchu original.[10]

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[7] It was completed only in Manchu in manuscript form in this year. It was printed as was the Chinese translation (*Qinding Manzhou jishen jitian dianli*) commissioned in 1777 in 1778 and 1782 respectively. I have used the Manchu copy in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, and the Chinese one reprinted in the *Liaohai congshu* (reprint Shenyang: Liaoning sheng Xinhua shudian 1985), Vol. 5, pp. 3097–3191.

[8] Nicola di Cosmo, "Manchu shamanic ceremonies at the Qing court," in: *State and court ritual in China*, Ed. Joseph P. McDermott. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999, pp. 352–398.

[9] Charles de Harlez (1887), pp. 61–63 (imperial preface).

[10] Tatiana Pang, "Materialien zum mandschurischen Schamanismus aus der Sammlung A.V. Grebenščikov," in: *Shamanica Manchurica Collecta* 5, 31–46 (here pp. 34–36). The following translation is quoted from di Cosmo (1999), p. 358.

> Our Manchus from the beginning have been by nature respectful, honest, and truthful. Dutyfully making sacrifices to Heaven, Buddha and the spirits, they have always held the highest consideration for sacrificial and ceremonial rites. Although sacrifices, ceremonies, and offerings among the Manchus of different tribes vary slightly according to different local traditions, in general the difference between them is not significant. They all resemble each other. As for the sacrifices of Our [Aisin] Gioro tribe,[11] from the imperial family downwards to the households of Imperial Princes and noblemen, we consider all invocations to be important. The shamans of the past were all people born locally, and because they learned to speak Manchu from childhood, [in] each sacrifice, ceremony, ritual, offering of goods, preparatory offering, propitiatory offering, offering of cakes, offering pigs against evil, and sacrifice for the harvest and sacrifice to the Horse God, they produced the right words, which fully suited the aim and circumstances [of the ritual]. Later, since the shamans learned the Manchu words by passing them down from one to another [without knowing the language], prayers and invocations uttered from mouth to mouth no longer conformed to the original language and the original sound. Presently in the families of the princes who left and became separated from the court, [the rituals,] being transmitted [orally] from generation to generation, no longer mutually correspond, and various differences have arisen [among them]. Even within the words of prayers and invocations pertaining to the various domestic sacrifices and ceremonies there are also small inconsistencies with old words and old sounds. Now if, after having revised, corrected and rectified [them], [we] do not act properly by preserving them in writing, and if they continue to be passed down [orally] for a long time, this cannot but result in their being further neglected and becoming more and more divergent. Therefore, I have appointed to this task princes and ministers, and ordered them to make a respectful and careful examination, to write [a work] dividing [it] into sections and chapters, and make drawings of the sacrificial objects to be shown one after the other. Then they were ordered to submit it to the throne, after which I have personally supervised, corrected, controlled, and definitively sanctioned it. As for the inconsistent words and sounds in the invocations, I have corrected and established them by enquiring either with old men who had recollections or with the local people. Moreover, in the section concerning the objects to employ, there are words like *nanmu* wood and others for which originally there was no Manchu word and which have

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[11] Martin Gimm, "Zum Schamanismus des Qing-Kaiserhofes—ein kaiserliches Auftragswerk aus dem Jahre 1747," in: *China in seinen biographischen Dimensionen. Gedenkschrift für Helmut Martin*, eds. Christina Neder, Heiner Roetz and Ines-Susanne Schilling. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2001, pp. 577–588, does not add the "Aisin," as di Cosmo does, possibly following the Chinese translation. Martin Gimm presumes (p. 587) that the ritual described in this work was practiced by all lineages having the Gioro element in their name. According to him it was only later changed to become the ritual of the imperial family. Martin Gimm's article is especially important, if one wants to learn about the different redactions and editions of this text and about supplementary materials.

> been transmitted [orally] following the Chinese word. After having received everyone's advice, I have given them a name, translating them into Manchu. Altogether six volumes have been compiled. Since in this [work] the old rituals of the Manchus will last eternally and not reach the point of being lost and neglected, I have been able to realize my desire to show high respect for the sacrificial rituals. Now, following the completion of this work, I name it *The Code of Rituals and Sacrifices of the Manchus*. The names of the commissioned Princes, ministers and officials must be also inserted and appended.

This translation is rather free sometimes, but I believe it conveys most of the Emperor's intentions. Note especially the translator's need to add "orally" several times in brackets, indicating that Manchu culture remained predominantly an oral one, in spite of the creation of a "national" script in 1599 to document state affairs and emulating Chinese literate culture. Another phrase added in brackets, "[without knowing the language]" may be true to facts, although I tend to assume that this is a mere conventional assumption, a relic of our Chinese-influenced view that the Manchu's developed into "better" Chinese than the Chinese themselves. Di Cosmo's assumption holds true, of course, for the late Qing period, but I prefer the more tentative attempt of Ms. Pang "Da später die Schamanen die Mandschusprache nur mehr traditionsbedingt erlernten."[12] Whatever that may mean, it grants more options for interpretation. And finally, although not relevant to this essay, Ms. Pang is more precise in naming the different sacrifices and rituals.

The preponderance of orality in Manchu culture is the main obstacle to a convincing interpretation of the Emperor's intentions in codifying the Manchu shamanic ritual. Nowadays the majority of those who occupy themselves with research on Manchu shamanism tend to assume that the code reflects, with minor adjustments, Manchu orthodox practice and that, therefore, Manchu shamanism belonged to "white shamanism," a kind of priestly community practicing rituals and sacrifices, but lacking the ecstatic communion with the spirits during the shaman's journey through the underworld typical in Siberian shamanism. Following this assumption, the Emperor's aims with the codification could have been only to use this *instrumentum instrumentorum*, religious praxis, to create a feeling of belonging again in the Manchu population, concentrated in Beijing, but also spread in numerous so-called banner-garrisons in an ocean made up of the Chinese people and in a less strange, but still potentially inimical setting in Mongolia and the Western territories, later to become the Province of Xinjiang. Thus they were exposed to countless influences estranging them from their own traditions—real or imagined—and weakening their hold on the Empire created by their forefathers. The argument goes on that the Manchus themselves were an artificial construct, built from the different Tungusic Altaic tribes living in what was once called Manchuria, to the Chinese either just "the Northeast" or later "the three Eastern Provinces." As the Tungusic tribes—in this also typical of Altaic societies—originally had no stronger ties than the clan- and family-organization the Manchus needed to create a kind of common consciousness. When the earlier unifying euphoria of successful conquest had given way to a parasitic way of life legitimized only by the memories of this conquest, it became especially important to reassure themselves. To a certain degree this was facilitated by the overpowering personalities of the three emperors of the mid-Qing-period, namely Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. To counteract the gradual loss of Manchuness there was invented something called *Manju doro* or *fe doro*—the Manchu or old customs or way, and to which belonged the vindication of such things as everyday habits, dress, language, the invention or usurpation of a creation myth, and the adulteration of parts of their history.[13]

A tendency to create or maintain a Manchu way was there almost from the beginning. When the Qing dynasty was proclaimed and the earlier roots documented by the name "Later Jin" were negated, Hong Taiji, the Emperor Taizong—often wrongly called Abahai in the West—in 1636, chose—we do not really know why and how—the name *Manju* for those Tungusic or perhaps rather Jurchen-Tungusic tribes,[14] who had participated in the conquest of Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia either voluntarily, as in the case of the Jianzhou-Jürčed north of the mouth of the Tumen River, or by force as the more civilized—at least by Chinese standards—Yehe, the Haixi-Jürčed. He is supposed to have created or rather adopted a foundation myth for the imperial clan.[15] He caused the almost forty-year old Manchu script to be improved, while at the same time he built an East-Asian state based on centuries-old experience of the Chinese and earlier "barbarian" empires, assisted by Chinese, Mongolian, and Korean allies and collaborators.[16] This meant that besides being the Manchu conqueror, from the beginning the Manchu emperors tried to perform different roles imposed upon them by their self-chosen fate as rulers of the East Asian world, being accepted as Bodhisattva by the Tibetans and Mongols, while simultaneously fulfilling the tasks of a Chinese Emperor as go-between between man and the numinous powers.

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[12] Tatiana Pang (1999), p. 35.

[13] Cf. especially Mark Elliott (2002), pp. 8–13 *et passim.*

[14] These decisions, too, belong to the Manchus' attempts to position themselves anew in the East Asian world. They dropped the slightly pejorative designation "Jurchen" (meaning something like "menials", "people kept in bondage") in favour of a new untainted name, which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. It is tempting to follow Gerhard Doerfer, who believes it may denote the geographical origin of the Manchus, but it may also be part of a kind of multiple performative act. This would be the case if we follow the explanation of the *Manzhou yuanliu kao* (Research on the origins of the Manchus) completed in 1783 (cf. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (1987), pp. 761–790). The *Manzhou yuanliu kao* itself belongs to that corpus of texts for which we normally have both a Manchu language original and a Chinese translation, which was created under the auspices of the Qianlong Emperor to ensure a specific Manchu consciousness among the ruling Manchu elite. At the beginning it says that Manchu was the name of a tribe, which then is explained as deriving from a Mohe and Shiwei word for "chieftain" (cf. W. Gorski, "Ueber die Herkunft des Stammvaters der jetzt in China herrschenden Dynastie Zin und vom Ursprunge des

In this context, we need not discuss Hong Taiji's successor, his ninth son, Fulin, better known by his era-name Shunzhi (1644–1660), though he strengthened the Manchu claim on the Mongols, for his mother was a descendant of Chinggis Khan.[17] When he ascended the throne at the age of six, the Manchus were still consolidating their power in China, and until the latter's death in 1651, he was under the regency of Prince Dorgon. In

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Namens der Mantschsu," in: *Arbeiten der Kaiserlichen Russischen Gesandtschaft zu Peking über China, sein Volk, seine Religion, seine Institutionen, socialen Verhältnisse etc.* Vol. 1, Berlin: F. Heinicke 1858, pp. 383–385). The Mohe can be identified almost with certainty as the predecessors of the Jurchen and Manchus; the Shiwei, probably so. Therefore, this late attempt at explanation, right or wrong, seems to fit very well into the strategies to put the Manchus on an equal footing with the overpowering Chinese and Mongol civilizations.

[15] Cf. the articles by Matsumura Jun, "The Ancestral Legend of the Manchu Imperial House," in: *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference, December 26–31 1971, Taipei, China*, ed. Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Tainan: National Ch'engkung University, Department of History s.a., pp. 192–195; "On the Founding Legend of the Ch'ing Dynasty," in: *Acta Asiatica* 53 (1988), pp. 1–23; "The Founding Legend of the Qing Reconsidered," in: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko* 55 (1997), pp. 41–60, Stephen W. Durrant, "Repetition in the Manchu Origin Myth as a Feature of Oral Narrative," in: *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1978), pp. 32–43 (reprinted in, *Central Asiatic Journal* 23 (1979), pp. 72–83), suggests for stylistic reasons that the founding myth told by the Hôrha-tribesman Muksike and recorded in the *Jiu Manzhoudang* under the date June 20 1635 must not necessarily be the source of the more elaborate version written down in the *Manju-i yargiyan kooli*, the Manchu-language *shilu* compiled under Qianlong in 1782. He goes on to argue that it may have been a foundation myth common to several distinct Manchu groups and that Muksike told the story only to stress the common origin of the Manchu and the Hôrha.

[16] Cf. Bernd-Michael Linke, *Zur Entwicklung des mandjurischen Khanats zum Beamtenstaat. Sinisierung und Bürokratisierung der Mandjuren während der Eroberungszeit.* Wiesbaden: Steiner 1982.

[17] Martin Gimm (2000/2001), p. 71, note 13.

the beginning he knew no Chinese, but he soon got such a good grasp of this language that he read Chinese novels and opera libretti avidly, could judge Chinese examination-papers and could handle state papers in Chinese. He was religiously inclined, interested in Christianity and immersed in Buddhism. At the end of his reign he seems to have put greater trust in his Chinese officials than in his Manchu compatriots. At this time internecine rivalry among the chief Manchu clans and even inside the imperial clan may have seemed a greater peril for the establishment of Manchu rule in China than Chinese resistance.

Xuanye, the Kangxi Emperor (1661–1722), still drew his Manchu strength from the successful conquest and from his own consolidation of Manchu power against the futile attempts of Chinese and Mongolian pretenders and Manchu nativist movements. For him, his grandfather's measures to create or perhaps merely strengthen Manchu self-consciousness were enough. He was still primarily a Manchu—and, of course the most important member of the leading Manchu clan, the imperial Aisin Gioro. He was conscious of his need to reconcile the subjugated by assuming the different roles required to achieve this end. He did not have to fight for Manchuness. Instead, at his time it was more important to learn about the Chinese.[18] The same holds true for his son and successor, for Yinzhen, the Yongzheng Emperor (1723–1735). Despite his persistent complaints about the decline of the Manchu language, we do not know for certain whether they reflect an actual problem among the banner-people—actually, most often Chinese bannermen—or simply his own reportedly punctilious character.[19]

It is his successor, Hongli, the Qianlong Emperor (1736–1796), who really felt the need to attempt putting Manchuness on a par with being Chinese or Mongolian. He consciously tried to revive things Manchu or rather to enlarge them to more than lifesize. He did the same though, with things Chinese, conspicuously showing off filial piety for example when caring for his mother and emulating his grandfather. He even abdicated in 1796 three years before his death in 1799, not to rule longer than him.[20]

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[18] Cf. Jonathan D. Spence, "The K'ang-hsi Reign," in: *The Cambridge History of China.* Vol. 9. Part 1: *The Ch'ing Empire to 1800*, ed. Willard J. Peterson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP 2002, pp. 147–150.

[19] Mark Elliott (2002), p. 300.

[20] This was not really a very exceptional decision, as such resignations, though sometimes forced, are also found with earlier Chinese emperors, though, more often perhaps with barbarian ones, cf. Peter A. Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," in: *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, ed. Alvin P. Cohen. Berkeley: University

But, as much as he honoured his grandfather, he cannot have thought too well of the Manchu translations of the Chinese classics mostly initiated by him. Already in the early years of his reign he started to have them grammatically and lexically revised and purged of what he regarded as too much Chinese syntax and too many Chinese words. Instead he ordered the creation of many rather artificial neologisms.[21] It was he who had the early Manchu *shilu* revised early in his reign, allegedly to make them readable again—the same argument that was used in the preface to the code—although in reality at least part of his motive was to expurgate everything seemingly uncouth.[22] It was he, who later during his reign in 1774 commissioned the *Huang Qing kaiguo fanglüe/Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe*, an expurgated—again—and seemingly innocent history of the Manchu conquest of China. And it was also he, who ordered the compilation of the *Manzhou yuanliu kao/Manjusai da sekiyen-i kimcin* completed in 1777, a work creating, or rather fabricating, a Manchu genealogy back to early imperial China, incorporating from the Chinese annals what was believed could serve as proof of an ancient Manchu origin, quoting Chinese ethnographic observations on the states on the Korean peninsula, on the Wei in northeastern Korea and parts of Manchuria, and, especially, on the Fuyu in today's Jilin Province among others.[23] Though I have not found an explicit statement that he wanted to emulate Emperor Shizong of the Jurchen dynasty Jin, who was one—or the only—"barbarian" emperor to be likened to the paragons of Chinese emperors, namely Yao and Shun, his acts in promoting things Manchu seem to be similar to Shizong's attempts at reviving Jurchen customs and thereby opening the way to their final destruction.[24]

And now let me return to the code of shamanic sacrifices and rituals, the *Hesei toktobuha Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe/Qinding Manzhou jishen jitian dianli*. As already mentioned, mainstream research today tends to regard the code as genuinely Manchu in spite of recognizeable Chinese

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of California Press 1979, pp. 277–279 [published originally in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3 (1938)].

[21] Cf. the pioneering short article by Walter Fuchs, "Eine unbeachtete Mandju-Übersetzung der Vier Bücher von 1741," in: *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag.* (Asiatische Forschungen 17). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1966, pp. 59–64.

[22] For shamanic rituals dropped from historical records compiled during the Qianlong reign, cf. Nicola di Cosmo (1999), pp. 366–368.

[23] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Manzhou yuanliu kao* (1987).

[24] Tao Jing-sheng, *The Jurchen in Twelfth Century China: A Study of Sinicization.* Seattle: University of Washington Press 1976.

influences. Furthermore it is stated that Manchu shamanism was "white shamanism", supposedly widespread among the Altaic people, though, difficult to grasp. It is compared to Buriat "white shamanism"[25] still noted in the 1820's and 1830's by the Scottish member of the Selenginsk mission of the London Missionary Society, William Swan, among others. Sometimes, however, it seems to me that Buddhist influence on the Southern Siberian tribes since proto-Mongol and proto-Tungusic times is apt to be overlooked. Even Qianlong in his preface includes Buddha to be part of the Manchu pantheon. How influential Buddhism was in Manchu shamanism can best be shown in the admittedly late transcriptions of the now justly famous Nišan-cycle,[26] which also proves the vitality of ecstatic shamanism among the Manchus.

The orality of Manchu culture makes it difficult, if not impossible, to put the development of Manchu shamanism into historical context. It is also difficult to weigh the importance of codified "white shamanism" and ecstatic shamanism, whether one of these was predominant or whether—as seems probable—they existed along side each other. What we have are small snippets of information from Chinese written sources and Chinese historiography from the time before the Qing conquest exclusively, I think, by Chinese or at least outside observers. As ecstatic shamanism was a clan- or family-event, like all core-religious acts closed for outsiders, this information can at its best be only fragmentary. This holds true too for the Manchu shamanic court ritual codified by the Qianlong Emperor. Only Manchus were admitted to the rituals, which were first performed in Shenyang and later in Beijing in the Tangse/Tangzi (until 1905 just outside the Forbidden City on the southside of the Dong Chang'an jie) and the Kunninggong (near the North Gate inside the Forbidden City) respectively. This seems to have aroused the predictable suspicions raised when only insiders may congregate. In this way the formulaic text describing the Manchu sacrificial rites becomes the only means to position the emperor in one of his Manchu roles. Not only did the emperor not attend most of the sacrifices, the performative aspect was also reduced to the text.[27]

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[25] Lawrence Krader, "The Shamanist Tradition of the Buriats (Siberia)," in, *Anthropos* 70 (1975), pp. 105–144.

[26] The Buddhist elements in the Nišan-cycle are not equally visible in all versions. They seem to me to be strongest in the versions published by Giovanni Stary in 1985 *Three Unedited Manuscripts of the Manchu Epic Tale „Nišan saman-i bithe". Facsimile Edition with Transcription and Introduction.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

[27] James Laidlaw, "On Theatre and Theory: Reflections on Ritual in Imperial Chinese Politics," in, *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott. Cambridge:

Jörg Bäcker[28] has, I believe, shown with the help of modern Chinese scholarship that the Qianlong code actually is the termination of a development that had started much earlier, in pre-imperial days. He does not refer back to the Qidan since the tenth century, treated by Wittfogel and Feng, a federation of different tribes and a possible mixture of Uiguric and proto-Mongol ethnic elements, where we already find the same phenomenon, but he notes the "templification" (*miaotanghua* 廟堂化 of Manchu or rather Jurchen shamanism since early Ming times under Chinese and Buddhist influence. So, the domestication of parts of the shamanic rituals and sacrifices is not necessarily the result of Sinification after 1644 or imperial scheming, but rather a long-term process of adopting originally foreign religious beliefs into a system predominantly of ritual praxis.

Any attempt at finding a convincing solution is complicated again and again by the problem of orality. One of the suspicions raised in connection with the creation of the code is that the Qianlong Emperor tried to use it to impose the ritual of the imperial clan on all other Manchu clans. For a long time, this could not be either confirmed or disproven, as we only knew of the official code, but that judgement became still more difficult after a manuscript (Tôyôbunka kenkyûsho, No. 2774) of the shamanic rituals of the Šušu Gioro clan became known through a long article by Mitamura Taisuke in 1958 or another one of the Gôwalgiya clan in 1991 through a Chinese/Manchu publication by Jiang Xiang-shun and others.[29] The first is dated 1771, the second is probably from 1852, and they are very similar to the imperial code, albeit somewhat shorter. Still, they may both have been influenced by it. Or, perhaps, the differences were not that big from the start.

Bäcker differentiates between the domesticated shaman (*boigon saman*) and the "wild" powerful shaman (*amba saman*), the latter also being the Siberian type, which he discovers among the Manchus in the already mentioned Nišan cycle. And again it is orality that makes it difficult to

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Cambridge UP 1999, pp. 399–416, musing about theatre without an audience, shows that this is the case very often, and I suppose not only, in Chinese state ritual. The promptbook was made available to the contemporaries but they were not permitted to attend the performance.

[28] Jörg Bäcker, "The Domesticated Shaman: Social and Religious Aspects of Manchu Shamanism in Comparison with Those of the Siberian Peoples," in: *Shamanica Manchurica Collecta* 5.1998, pp. 1–9.

[29] Jiang Xiangshun 姜相順, Tong Yue 佟悅, and Wang Jun 王俊, *Liao Binta Manzu jiaji* 遼濱塔滿家族祭. Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe 1991; Alessandra Pozzi, *Manchu-Shamanica Illustrata*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1992 (*Shamanica Manchurica Collecta* 3).

pinpoint its origins. No texts were recorded before the end of the nineteenth century, and then, though with the help of Manchus, by Russian scholars like the already named Grebenščikov or Krotkov.

Some of the "Nišanologists" discuss the beginning of the earliest Nišan version, which starts: "During the Ming dynasty there was [...]." While Mark Elliott takes this as the date of origin, other Nišanologists think this date may be politically motivated. Since the codification of shamanic sacrifices and rituals excluded "wild" shamanism from Manchu religious usage, this innocuous date was interpolated to save "wild" shamanism from persecution.

What I have not found, is a statement that "white shamanism," the codified Manchu ritual, is no shamanism at all. Of course, everybody is free to define what he believes it to be. In the frame of a rather narrow definition including only the special way of becoming a shaman because of unique properties, ecstasy, and the ability to journey through the netherworld, the Manchu ritual and sacrificial code does not seem to fit. Rather, it seems, this is an early adaption of Buddhism on one hand and Chinese ancestor-worship on the other, admittedly fused with some Manchu pecularities originating in religious beliefs or social experiences.

Let me give one last quotation, this time from Bäcker:[30]

> Another salient feature of Manchu shamanism is the great number of female deities and the predominance of female shamans. Moreover, we do not find so many female goddesses (about 300) as in Manchu tradition in any form of Siberian shamanism, nor are female shamans so predominant anywhere. Judging from the historical legends and female dominance in many Manchu shamanic cults, it seems probable that matrilineal shamanism has at least been the rule among the tribes of the north-eastern Donghai Nüzhen (East Sea Jurchen), maybe until the late Ming dynasty.
>
> In this connection one may ask whether it has not been the female predominance in Manchu shamanism which has given rise to the typically Manchu house shamans with their mild, serene, priestly functions? It has also been argued that the boigon saman originated from the institution of the shaman's assistants (jari). Shaman's assistants, however, are widespread in Siberia, too, without having given rise to anything similar to the Manchu boigon saman.

I agree with Bäcker about the strong female element both on the side of the spirits and on the side of the shamans, though I am not so sure whether this is a Manchu peculiarity. Shamanism is very much dominated by women also among other Altaic and neighbouring peoples too. The second paragraph quoted seems to me to be a misunderstanding borne out of political correctness. The Manchu code retained a strong female shamanic element, albeit one that was also bureaucratized.[31] The mildness and serenity of the Manchu house shaman (boigon saman) surely is grounded more in his or her (since members of either sex could be shamans) functions in a modified ancestor worship. The Nišan shamaness endowed with incredible strength and almost Dionysian qualities seems hardly to be the source of this bureaucratic official.

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[30] Jörg Bäcker, op. cit., pp. 5–6.

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[31] Nicola di Cosmo (1999), pp. 378–379.

■ Source: Liu, X., 'Immortals and Patriarchs: The Daoist World of a Manchu Official and His Family in Nineteenth Century China', in *Asia Major* 3rd series, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2004, pp. 161–218, © 2004 IHP of Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

IMMORTALS AND PATRIARCHS: THE DAOIST WORLD OF A MANCHU OFFICIAL AND HIS FAMILY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINA*

Xun Liu

In the spring of 1832, Wanyan Linqing 完顏麟慶 (*z.* Boyu 伯餘, *h.* Jianting 見亭, 1791–1846) left his post in Kaifeng 開封 as provincial surveillance commissioner 按察使 of Henan, and journeyed southward to Guizhou 貴州, where he was to assume office as the newly appointed commissioner of finance 布政使 of the frontier province. In his prime, at the age of forty-two, Linqing was enjoying a stellar career in the Qing officialdom. Though Guizhou was a remote province sometimes disturbed by riots and rebellions among its ethnic minorities, Linqing's new post there was a stepping stone to higher positions.

Now on his southward journey, Linqing made a stop at Nanyang 南陽, where he was born and had spent his childhood, and paid a visit to the Daoist temple known as the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery (Yuanmiao guan 元妙觀).[1] As he wandered around at his childhood haunt, which he alluded to as the Daoist paradise of "the Purple Mansion," Linqing was overwhelmed by feelings of nostalgia and loss, and included this passage in his illustrated autobiography *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji* 鴻雪因緣圖記 (*An Illustrated Record of the Goose-Tracks on the Snow*):

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[1] The original name of the monastery was "Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀, "but it was changed to "Yuanmiao guan 元妙觀," sometime early in the Qing out of respect for the Kangxi emperor, whose personal name was "Xuanye 玄燁."

天開紫府影亭亭	Heaven opens to cast the Purple Mansion in shadow;
小隊南行喜再經	Full of joy, my entourage passes by it on a southward journey.
野鶴不殊當日白	But the wild cranes aren't as white as those of bygone days,
老松仍是舊時青	And the old pines were much more verdant in those old times.
鍊丹人去蕉無主	Gone are the alchemist, and the master of the banana tree;
述德碑高事有銘	But the inscribed stele still stands to tell the lore of ancestral virtue.
欲訪兒童遊釣跡	How have I longed to visit my childhood haunt of fishing and excursions!
雪泥鴻爪問仙靈	As it fades like the goose-tracks in snow,whom but the immortal's spirit do I ask?[2]

Drawing on a metaphor made famous by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Linqing lamented the evanescence of life by likening his own sense of the predestined yet ever fragile bonds with human beings and places to the "goose-tracks in snow."[3] As he attempted to renew his own bond with the monastery, he found out to his dismay that the Daoist "alchemist and the master of the banana tree" whom he had hoped to call on had passed, fading like those goose tracks. At the end of the poem, feeling sad and melancholy, Linqing pondered if he should turn to the spirit of an immortal to seek answers to the puzzling bond he felt toward the Daoist alchemist and the monastery from his childhood.

But what exactly was the strong bond that Linqing felt toward to the monastery in Nanyang, which was run by Quanzhen 全真 Daoists and contained Quanzhen devotional temples to an assortment of deities? Who was this unnamed "alchemist?" What was "the inscribed stele" about? What were the circumstances that led to Linqing's fascination with "goose-tracks in the snow?"

To understand Linqing fully—his sense of attachment and loss—is to enter his world of beliefs, beliefs in the predestined bonds (*yin yuan* 因緣) among humans and deities, and in the power and efficacy of immortals, spirits, Daoist patriarchs, and masters like the "alchemist." Though bonds such as that between Linqing and the mysterious Daoist "alchemist" may be transient and evanescent, like the "goose tracks," Linqing's thoughtful reflection seems to indicate that to grasp them was a vital, personal task. Calling on the old Daoist monastery and its personages from childhood was thus more than just an act of nostalgia. It was his way of living, a way to act on his fundamental beliefs about life.

By any measure, Wanyan Linqing was an extraordinary man of his times. As his family name suggests, he was a purported descendant of the Jurchen imperial household that ruled north China from the eleventh century to the early thirteenth century.[4] More importantly, Linqing's ancestors joined Nurhaci 努爾哈赤 (1559–1626), the founder of the Qing dynasty, in his conquest of China. As the "*booyi* 包衣," the most trusted bondservants and bodyguards of the Qing imperial household, the Wanyans were considered part of the throne's personal entourage and often entrusted with special authority and influence unknown to even the highest-ranking officials in the Qing central bureaucracy.[5] Since the conquest, the Wanyans who belonged to the elite Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner under the powerful Imperial Household Department 內務府 settled in their assigned residential quarters in the northeastern district of the capital. Many quickly adapted to the Han Chinese culture. Like many of their fellow bannermen, the Wanyans had early begun to acquire offices through the regular civil service examination, even while they enjoyed special privileges and treatments at court. During the earliest reigns of the dynasty, the Wanyan clan produced many learned officials, quite a few of whom rose to the ranks of the grand secretaries. Their imperial pedigree and long tradition in learning undoubtedly helped them thrive in Qing officialdom.[6] Indeed, Linqing's stellar career would have made his ancestors proud. Having attained the *jinshi* degree at the age of eighteen, in 1809, Linqing served with distinction at the Hanlin Academy and inner cabinet in Beijing. He was then sent out of the capital as prefect successively in two prefectures in Anhui province before he was promoted to the position of circuit intendant of the Yellow River Works in Kaifeng, Henan. There, he soon rose to the post of the provincial surveillance commissioner. A few years after that, Linqing served in high-ranking posts in Guizhou and Hubei before assuming the office of the director-general of the Southern River Works 南河道總督 in 1834. Ten year later in the spring of 1843, even after he was dismissed from office due to a collapsed dike under his watch, Linqing continued to enjoy the trust of the throne. Just a year before his death, Linqing was granted the title of imperial bodyguard of full second rank, and appointed governor general of Kulun region in eastern Mongolia, a post he was not able to assume due to declining health.

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[2] See Wanyan Linqing, *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji* (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1886; hereafter, *HX*) 2, pp. 2a–23a. Since the initial 1847 woodblock prints there have been several edns.: 1879, 1886, and 1896, with varying size, number of volumes (*juan*), and pagination. I have used the 1886 lithographic edn. collected in the College de France library for this study. Several partial translations of the autobiography are available in western languages. One is by T.C. Lai, *Wild Swan's Trail* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Book Center, ca. 1978) in English, and another in French by Jean R. Baylin, *Visite aux temples de Pekin: Extraits du carnet de voyage de Lin K'ing* (Pekin: n.p., 1921). I am informed by Professor John Minford that he is editing a full translation of the autobiography that was made by the late Yang Zonghan 楊宗翰 (*z.* Yidong 懿凍, 1901–1992). Several chapters of Yang's translation have appeared, with introduction by Liu Ts'un-yan, in *Journal of East Asian History* 6 (1993), pp. 105–42. For additional translations of the autobiography, see Yang, "Tracks in the Snow: Excerpts" in *Renditions* 51 (1999), pp. 29–65.

[3] The phrases "*xue ni* 雪泥" and "*hong zhua* 鴻爪," meaning "snowy mud" and "goose-tracks," respectively, are clearly inspired by Su Shi's poem to his brother, "He Ziyou Mianci huai jiu 和子由澠池懷舊." We read: "人生到處知何似, / 應似飛鴻踏雪泥. /泥上偶然留爪印, / 鴻飛那復認東西." Here, Su uses goose-tracks left in the snow as a metaphor for the random and transient nature of life. Like the tracks left by the migrating geese on the snowy mud, humans who hurried through their life were seldom able to recognize the things, events, and relationships which they left behind. In Su's context, "goose-tracks in the snow" are the patterns of one's past life whose fleeting transience defies comprehension and memory. But the memory and understanding of such past things, events, and relationships was the very essence of human experience (*ren sheng* 人生). See Feng Yingliu 馮應榴, comp., *Su Shi shi ji he zhu* 蘇軾詩集合注 (1793; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2001), pp. 90–91.

[4] See Zong Jichen 宗稷宸 "Qian Jiangnan hedao zongdu Wanyan gong muzhi ming" 前江南河道總督完顏公墓誌銘, in Miao Quansun 繆荃孫, *Xu beizhuan ji* 續碑傳集 (1910; rpt. edn. in Zhou Junfu 周駿富, comp., *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 [Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985–86; hereafter *QDZJ*]), vol. 116, pp. 772–75. See also Sheng Yu 盛昱and Yang Zhongxi 楊鐘羲, *Baqi wenjing* 八旗文經 (Wuchang: n.p., 1901) 59, pp. 9a–b.

[5] For recent studies of the Qing imperial court and household institutions, see Wang Shuqing 王樹卿 and Li Pengnian 季鵬年, eds., *Qing gong shi shi* 清宮史事 (Beijing: Zijingcheng chuban she, 1986); Lai Huimin 賴慧敏, *Tian huang gui zhou, Qing huangzu*

In addition to a career as a high-ranking official, Linqing demonstrated his intellectual prowess as a Confucian scholar, poet, and literary anthologist. He was one of the compilers of the *Veritable Record of Renzong* 仁宗實錄, a prestigious position reserved for fine scholars. He authored two books on Yellow River hydraulics and dike management. A prolific

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de jiecheng jiegou yu jingji shenghuo 天潢貴胄清皇族的階層結構與經濟生活 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, 1997); and Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1998).

[6] There is strong evidence that the Wanyans' acculturation in the ways of the Han Chinese literati predated the Qing conquest. Linqing mentioned that during a raid into Ming-controlled Shandong, a first-generation ancestor of the Wanyan clan "brought back" some prized Song-era printed books, which were later passed on to him and kept at his residential library in Beijing during the 1840s. See Wanyan Linqing, "Lang huan cang shu" 瑯嬛藏書, in *HX* 3, p. 71a.

poet, he rendered invaluable help to his mother in the compilation of *Guochao guixiu zhengshi ji* 國朝閨秀正始集, an authoritative anthology of poems by women writers from the Qing era. For several years between 1835 and 1838, Linqing's office was the subject of several imperial audits. While charges of embezzlement, nepotism, and poor bookkeeping were leveled against the office of the director-general, Linqing emerged from the scrutiny unscathed, and continued to enjoy the Daoguang emperor's (道光; r. 1821–1850) trust.[7] Although stories circulated widely during the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries alleging extensive corruption, embezzlement, and other excesses at the Directorate General of the Southern River Works, especially in Daoguang's reign,[8] Linqing managed to impress his friends, protégés, and even colleagues at the court as a consummate Confucian literatus and official: filial and devoted as a son, loving and demanding as a father, learned and imaginative as a poet, stern yet compassionate as a magistrate, and loyal and generous as a friend.[9]

Why Wanyan Linqing?

While most of Linqing's contemporaries were familiar with his public persona as a Confucian official and scholar, and modern historians of the Qing have been as well, few have known about his devotion to and involvement in Quanzhen Daoism, which remains a little-understood aspect of Qing elite religious and cultural life during the nineteenth century.

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[7] For Linqing's perspective on these audits, see "Heting na liang" 荷亭納涼, *HX* 2, pp. 84b–85a. See also idem, *Lin Jianting zhou gao* 麟見亭奏稿 (rpt. Beijing: Quanguo tushu guan wenxian shuo yin fu zhi zhongxin, 2005), pp. 199–299.

[8] Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869–1928), a chronicler of late-Qing and early-Republican events, provided two accounts of the alleged corruption and excesses at the Southern River Works office under the category of "Lavish Excesses (*haochi lei* 豪侈類)." Both claim that the corruption and embezzlement of government funds for river works at the Directorate reached its apex during Daoguang's reign, with at least 70–90% of the total annual budget of five to six million taels of silver allegedly going to the private purse of the director-general and his subordinate officials. It should be noted that while corroborating evidence of his personal involvement is lacking, Linqing's tenure as the director-general from 1833 to 1842 falls within this alleged period of rampant corruption. One account also provides as evidence of the systemic corruption some blood-curding details about one director-general's wasteful ways of slaughtering pigs for banquets; Xu Ke, *Qing bai lei chao* 清稗類鈔 (1928; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) *j.* 7, pp. 3270, 3283–84.

[9] Many fellow officials and scholars known for moral integrity and uprightness, such as Pan Shien 潘世恩 (1769–1854), Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), and Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841) considered Linqing a learned yet modest scholar, and a loyal and diligent official; see their prefaces in *HX* 1, pp. 1a, 3a–3b, and 2, pp. 3a–3b.

Recent scholarship by Liu Ts'un-yan, Timothy Brook, Susan Naquin, Lowell Skar, and most recently Vincent Goossaert, has advanced our understanding of the religious and cultural life of the elite during the late imperium. These studies show that the cultural and religious world of the traditional elite was multifaceted and multidimensional, involving beliefs, ideas, practices and institutions drawn from Buddhism, Daoism and various local cults. Professor Liu was among the first who drew our collective attention to the pervasive influence of Daoism on the Ming court elite and on neo-Confucianists.[10] Skar's dissertation traces the history of the formation of the Daoist Southern Lineage by focusing on literati's patronage and participation in the Jiangnan and Fujian regions during the Southern Song.[11] Brook's study of the Buddhist revival of late-Ming shows how Confucian gentry patronage of local monastic centers reshaped Buddhism, while empowering the gentry elite in their search for power and prestige in local society.[12] Naquin's masterful work on the city temples, pilgrimages, and devotional societies in Beijing provides a vivid and definitive account of the complex material and symbolic world of ritual and religions that centered on the life of commoners, the court, and the elite over a period of five centuries.[13] Similarly, in his pioneering work on Daoist clergy in the capital, Goossaert produces a richly textured and meticulously documented institutional history of the various Daoist lineages and institutions, and their ritual functions in the social and urban life of the capital during the nineteenth century.[14]

While these works provide excellent accounts of the macro-social and institutional aspects of Buddhist and Daoist religious traditions over time, they have also generated many questions and issues requiring further inquiry. Many aspects of elite religious life remain to be explored. For instance, did the pattern of literati patronage of religious institutions and practices during the Song and Ming continue into the Qing, especially the late-nineteenth century? What, if any, change took place in the pattern of elite patronage of Daoist monasteries and cults by high-ranking Manchu bannermen literati officials like the Wanyans? Furthermore, while macro-histories of Buddhist and Daoist clergy and monasteries sketch out the larger institutional framework for understanding elite religious experience, we still need to study the histories of personal and family practices so as to gain a more intimate understanding of how the Qing elite experienced and lived out their religious faith, and of what religious beliefs such as Daoism meant to them. Such studies will help us to understand how Daoist religious beliefs, ideas, techniques, and institutions actually functioned in the life of the Qing elite. Further, it will deepen our appreciation of the complexity of Qing religious culture, which encompassed Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, as well as various other local cults and practices.

In this article, I examine Daoist beliefs and practices as an important component of late-Qing literati culture, and how they fit into the lives and careers of members of the late-Qing ruling stratum. Like many of their literati contemporaries, the Wanyans were by no means exclusive followers or practitioners of Daoist faith. Their piety was also inspired by teachings and practices of Buddhism, Confucianism, and local cults. But their extensive connections with Quanzhen Daoist clergy and institutions over a long period of time afford us a unique opportunity for studying the elite practice and patronage of Daoism. As well-educated and well-traveled court officials and writers, the members of the Wanyan clan produced a body of writing that included autobiographies, poems, commemorative inscriptions, and essays, which, collectively, document their religious faith and activities. For instance, while generally categorized in modern libraries as simply a piece of travel writing or personal memoir, Wanyan Linqing's famous illustrated autobiography, *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji*, cited earlier, contains casual yet suggestive references and discussions of his personal pursuit of the Daoist faith over a period of half a century, as he sojourned in the realm. When critically and carefully cross-examined with other source materials such as standard histories, epigraphic inscriptions, local gazetteers, and even unofficial histories, the autobiography reveals the nature and extent of Linqing's patronage of Quanzhen Daoism. So when properly contextualized, this kind of autobiographic writing helps to recover and reconstruct Daoist aspects of Qing religious culture and life in the nineteenth century. For that reason, I base this study on a combination of sources: autobiographical writings, poems, epigraphic materials, monastic records, paintings and colophons, local gazetteers, unofficial as well as standard histories, and notes from my recent fieldwork in China.

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[10] See Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁, "The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite" (orig. pub. 1970) and "Lin Chao-en (1517–1598), the Master of the Three Teachings," in his *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 76–148, and 149–74.

[11] Lowell Skar, "Golden Elixir Alchemy: The Formation of the Southern Lineage and the Transformation of Medieval China," Ph.D. diss. (U. Pennsylvania, 2003).

[12] See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1993).

[13] See Susan Naquin, "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng-shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Sites," in Susan Naquin and Chünfang Yu, eds., *Pilgrimage and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1992). See also Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2000).

[14] See Vincent Goossaert, "The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949," ms. submitted for publication.

In the following, I first contextualize Linqing's patronage of Quanzhen Daoism in relation to the ties to that sect maintained by his purported imperial ancestors and to the extensive bannerman involvement in various Daoist cults and temple festivals at the capital. I show that Linqing's beliefs and patronage were part of a widespread pattern among the Qing elite. Further, by examining Linqing and his fellow bannermen's devotional practices in connection with their lives and careers, I hope to uncover the motivations behind their faith in Quanzhen Daoism. I show that belief in one's extraordinary personal destiny (*ming* 命), as well of pursuits of healing, and desires for moral capital and spiritual prestige inspired their Daoist pietism. Last, by documenting the deep penetration of Quanzhen Daoist ideas and practices into elite culture and life, I wish to highlight a less-known aspect of the Qing literati religious culture. For me, the Daoist component of that culture, as exemplified in the elite's close ties to Quanzhen, holds the key to understanding Daoist power and influence, both at the capital and elsewhere, in the course of late-Qing state-building and modernization. My future research will examine the relationship between the elite religious culture and the Daoist monastic expansion and empowerment at the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing and other places during the period of late-Qing reforms. But for now, let us turn our attention to the earlier stages of that relationship, which began partly with the Wanyans.

Seeds of the Bond: Wanyan Ancestors and Early Quanzhen Daoism

Arguably, the Wanyans' earliest ties to Quanzhen Daoism were those of their putative ancestors from the Jurchen imperial household that ruled north China in the late-twelfth century. Among them, the sixth emperor, Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–1189), or Wanyan Yong 完顏雍 (1123–1189), and his successor Wanyan Jing 完顏璟 (1168–1208) patronized the emerging Quanzhen sect, which was spreading throughout the North China Plain.[15]

The neo-Daoist sect was founded by Wang Zhe 王喆 (1112–1170) in central Shaanxi around the 1140s, and it incorporated doctrinal values and ideas from the teachings of Laozi, Confucius, and Shakyamuni. Wang embraced simple living, self-discipline, self-sacrifice, and compliance with social norms and moral conventions; he named his new religious and spiritual teaching "Quanzhen," or "Complete Perfection 全真." From 1167 onward, Wang traveled eastward to Shandong and the rest of the North China Plain, and began to spread his teachings there. In war-ravaged Shandong, Wang found a ready audience among both the literati and the commoners. Soon, he converted several key members of the cultural elite, who became a coterie of disciples and clients.[16] After Wang passed away in the fall of 1170, these early disciples continued spreading Quanzhen teaching throughout Jurchen-controlled north China. By the time of Shizong's reign (1162–1189), Quanzhen teachings were widely accepted and devotional societies and temples were established throughout the Shandong, Hebei, Henan, and Shaanxi regions under Jurchen rule.

Faced with the increasingly formidable influence of the new sect, Shizong and his successor adopted a policy of cautious accommodation and containment, despite their instinctive suspicion about a potential threat from such sectarian organizations. Wary of Quanzhen's political influence in Shandong, Shizong invited Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142–1217) and Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1147–1227) to his court in Beijing, and on various occasions sought from them the teachings of the Quanzhen masters. Deeply impressed with the moral character and charisma of Qiu Chuji,

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[15] See Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Nan Song chu Hebei xin Daojiao kao* 南宋初河北新道教考 (Beijing: Furen University, 1941). Yao Tao-chung, "Ch'üen-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries," Ph.D. diss. (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1980). See also Zhang Guangbao 張廣保, *Jin Yuan Quanzhen dao neidan xin xing xue* 金元全真道內丹心性學 (Beijing: Sanlian chuban she, 1995). Another important patron of the emerging Daoist sect was Wanyan Yong's grandson Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 (Shousun 壽孫, *z.* Zhongshi 仲實, Zhiyu 子瑜, *h.* Chuxuan jushi 樗軒居士, 1172–1232), one of the well-known Confucian scholars of his time. Following the trend among fellow elite literati, Wanyan Shu composed stele inscriptions that commemorated the Daoist monasteries and lineage masters. Two of these are extant; see Wanyan Shu, "Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyang zi Wang zhenren Quanzhen jiaozu bei" 終南山神仙重陽子王真人全真教祖碑, and "Changzhen zi Tang zhenren xian ji bei ming" 長真子譚真人仙跡碑銘, in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jin shi lue* 道家金石略 (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1988), pp. 450–55. I am indebted to Vincent Goossaert for pointing out these two texts. For Wanyan's life and career, see Liu Qian 劉潛, *Gui qian zhi* 歸潛志, in Wang Youli 王有立, comp., *Zhonghua wen shi cong shu, di jiu ji* 中華文史叢書第九輯 (Taipei: Huawen shujun, 1969) vol. 69, pp. 13–16. For his official biog., see Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Jin shi* 金史 (rpt. edn. Shanghai guji chuban she 上海古籍出版社, comp., *Ershi wu shi* 二十五史 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1986]) vol. 9, p. 200.

[16] Most prominent among Wang's early disciples were Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123–1183), Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (1147–1203), Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123–1185), Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1147–1227), Hao Datong 郝大通 (1140–1212), Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142–1217), and Ma's wife, Sun Bu-er 孫不二 (1119–1182), all of whom later became the famous Seven Perfected Masters 七真 of the nascent sect.

Shizong presented the Daoist master with fruit placed on a gold platter, during an audience in 1188, and lodged him at the imperial guest house within the imperial city.[17] After the emperor's death, his successor and grandson, Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208), also became a patron. Twice he gave audience to Wang Chuyi to seek teachings and advice on state governance and self-cultivation, and bestowed lavish gifts and titles on Wang.[18]

The Wanyans' ties with Quanzhen Daoism continued after the Mongol conquest of north China, a period when the fortune of the Wanyan clan steeply declined. A majority of the imperial household were slaughtered by the invading Mongol armies in the spring of 1233 at Qingcheng 青城, a small town south of Kaifeng. Among the minor lineages of the imperial household who survived the catastrophe, some retreated back to their homeland in present-day Manchuria, while others stayed to serve the Yuan court and ultimately some of them became involved in the Quanzhen sect. Wanyan Deming 完顏德明 joined the sect and rose through its ranks. During the reign of the last Yuan emperor Huizong's reign (1335–1368), Deming served as the grand lineage master 掌教大宗師 and presided over all the Quanzhen monasteries and clergy in the Yuan empire.[19]

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[17] Shizong held audience with Wang Chuyi and Qiu Chuji on several occasions at his palace in Beijing between 1187 and 1189, for both personal and political reasons. His first audience with Wang (in 1188) seems to have been in the context of a Buddhist scheme to defame and poison Wang. Having survived the poisoned wine, Wang impressed Shizong so much that he was awarded with lavish gifts and a gold crown. Shizong also ordered a cloister constructed for Wang in Beijing, where he stayed until the late spring of 1189, when Wang was allowed to leave. But he was summoned to court again by Zhangzong. Zhangzong granted Wang the title of Great Master who Embodies Mystery 體玄大師. See Qin Zhi-an 秦志安 (Chuli dao-ren 樗櫟道人), *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗, *j*. 5, in Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, Shanghai shudian 上海書店, Tianjin guji chuban she 天津古籍出版社, comp., *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing and Shanghai: Wenwu Chubanshe, and Shanghai shudian, 1988; hereafter *DZ*), vol. 3, pp. 361–63, and also "Wang Zongshi daoxing bei" 王大宗師道行碑, in Beijing tushu guan jinshi Zu 北京圖書館金石組, comp., *Beijing tushu guan cang Zhongguo lidai shi ke taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏歷代中國石刻拓本匯編 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chuban she, 1989; hereafter, *BTSK*), vol. 87, p. 157. For Shizong's audience with Qiu, see Qiu Chuji, *Panxi ji* 磻溪集, j. 2–3, in *DZ*, vol. 25, pp. 818, and 823. See also Qin Zhi-an, "Changchun Qiu zhenren" 長春丘真人, *j*. 4, in *DZ*, vol. 3, pp. 359–61.

[18] See Yao, "Ch'üen-chen," and Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫, *Kindai Dōkyō no kenkyū, Ō jūyō to Ba tan yō* 金代道f教の研究王重陽と馬丹陽 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1992), and idem, *Kin Gen jidai no Dōkyō, shishishin kenkyū* 金元時代の道教七真研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1998).

[19] Very little is known of Wanyan Deming. Most comes from Chen Yuan, who identified several stele records from which we can get a glimpse. Deming authored a brief stele inscription that recorded the recarving of a Yuan emperor's edict at the Palace of Eternal Joy in Shaanxi, and was mentioned in several other stele inscriptions at Daoist monasteries located in the Shaanxi, Hebei, and Henan regions. See Chen, *Daojia jin shi lue*,

Forging a New Bond: The Wanyans and Quanzhen Daoism under the Qing

Unknown to us are whatever ties the Wanyans had with Quanzhen Daoism during the Ming period. It also remains unclear whether Linqing and his immediate ancestors knew of the family's early Quanzhen patronage and involvement. Regardless, whatever connections the later Wanyans claimed to have had with their Jurchen imperial ancestors must be viewed as tenuous, if not outright fictitious, because very few of the Jurchen imperial household survived the Qingcheng massacre. For those even fewer Wanyans who perhaps returned to their Jurchen homeland in Manchuria after the Mongol conquest, it is impossible to establish which, if any, ultimately survived and prospered to become the allies of Nurhaci in his conquest of China nearly three centuries later.

Indeed, the imagined ties between Wanyan Linqing's clan and their Jurchen imperial ancestors are very much the function and the product of the early-Qing politics of conquest and legitimacy. In that context, the early exploits of the Jurchen rulers in China came to be perceived by early Qing emperors as an important source of cultural and political capital in legitimizing their conquest and control of China. Such memories were revived in order to consolidate Qing imperial claims as the new rulers of China.[20] This led the Qing court to recognize the Wanyans officially as descendants of the Jurchen imperial household. In 1753, at the Jurchen imperial tombs located in Fangshan 房山 in the southwestern suburbs of the capital, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (Hongli 宏歷, 1711–179; r. 1736–1795) rendered homage to Wanyan Arguda 完顏阿骨打 (1068–1123), the Jurchen founder. Further, because the Qianlong emperor was keenly aware of Wanyan Yong's reputation as "junior sage after Yao and Shun 小堯舜," a flattering camparison by Confucian historians to the ancient sage kings, he ordered one of his most trusted grand secretaries, Akedun 阿克敦 (*z*. Lixuan 立軒, *h*. Hengyan 恒巖, 1685–1756), to conduct sacrificial rites to Shizong on his behalf. At that time, the emperor also

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pp. 805, 787–88, 795–96, 798–800, 811–12, and 815–16. There is also a passing reference to a Grand Lineage Master Wanyan in an epitaph. See Shao Hengzhen 邵亨貞 (1309–1401), "Pan lianshi Songan xu" 潘錬師松菴序, in Shao, *Ye chu ji* 野處集 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1983) 2, p. 6a. Also see Chen, *Nan Song Hebei*, pp. 54–58. Note the misprint of Shao Hengzhen as Shao Henqing, and the incorrect citation of *juan* number "3," instead of the correct "2."

[20] See, e.g., the 1663 stele inscription composed by the Kangxi emperor at Wanyan Yong's tomb in Fangshan, "Jin Taizu Shizong ling bei" 金太祖世宗陵碑, in *BTSK*, vol. 62, p. 19.

extended special privileges concerning participation in the sacrifical rites to ninety-six members from the fifty-nine Wanyan sublineages who were serving in the Qing officialdom. Additionally, as part of their efforts to create political and symbolic legitimacy, early Qing emperors issued orders to protect and maintain sacrifices to the Jurchen imperial tombs outside the capital. According to Linqing, the Qianlong emperor even took the unusual political measure of elevating the status of the Wanyan lineage as the first among all clans under the Eight Banner system. Keenly aware of the ancient precedent wherein the sage king Shun who succeeded his predecessor Yao chose to treat the latter's son Danzhu 丹朱 with utmost courtesy and reverence, the Qianlong emperor signaled his desire to emulate such primordial sages and to gain political and moral legitimacy by gestures of honor and respect toward the Wanyans.[21] With an official status as Jurchen imperial descendants, the Wanyans were more than likely aware of all aspects of their ancestors' legacy, including any patronage and involvement with Quanzhen Daoism. Linqing claimed to be the twenty-fourth generation descendant from a minor line of Shizong's lineage, and made at least two personal trips to pay homage to Jurchen imperial ancestors at their tombs in the southern suburbs of the capital.[22]

Linqing's immediate ancestors did in fact develop specific ties with Quanzhen Daoism within just a few generations after the Manchu conquest of 1644.[23] Beginning with Linqing's grandfather, these connections were fixed chiefly through such activities as patronage of Daoist temples and cultivation of personal associations with Quanzhen priests at these institutions between the late-eighteenth and late-nineteenth centuries. For the Wanyans, all of this was a natural extension of their personal and family belief system, one that provided both spiritual vision and power. For the Quanzhen priests and their monasteries, association with the Wanyans and their kind offered both a short-cut access to power and prestige, and opportunities to influence even more the world as they knew it, in a time of profound social and political change and upheaval that typified late nineteenth century China.

After the conquest, the first significant ties between Quanzhen Daoism and the Wanyan family were those created by Wanyan Dai 完顏岱 (*z.* Xiaoyan 曉巖, ?–1801). He was the elder of the two sons of Wanyan Qi Cheng E 期成額 (*z* Mianzhai 勉齋, ?–1775), who served as Manchu senior vice-minister of war 兵部左侍郎 at the Qianlong court between 1772 and 1775.[24] But unlike his father, Wanyan Dai never rose up into the Qing central bureaucracy in the capital. He held posts primarily in the Qing local and provincial governments in the North China Plain. Lord Xiaoyan 曉巖公, as Wanyan Dai was known to posterity, began his official career as the magistrate of Xian county in the Hejian prefecture of metropolitan Zhili province. Having established a reputation as a frugal and energetic magistrate, lord Xiaoyan was promoted to serve as the prefect of Nanyang in Henan province toward the late 1790s. It was during official tenures at various posts in Henan that he developed a close relationship with Quanzhen Daoism.

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[21] In the 1753 ceremony, Wanyan Qi Cheng E 期成額 (lord Mianzhai 勉齋公), Linqing's great-grandfather (an imperial scribe at the Qianlong court), was among the 96 Wanyans present at the homage ceremony at Fangshan. After the ceremony, the emperor bestowed on him a bolt of silk and a pair of embroidered bags. Later, according to Linqing, the throne issued a special instruction to the compilers of the imperially commissioned biography of the banner clans and lineages (*Baqi Manzhou shizu tong pu* 八旗滿州氏族通譜, completed 1744) to list the Wanyan clan as the primary clan of the Eight Banners lineages by moving its entry from the original 28th *juan* to the first. Interestingly, Linqing made the analogy between the Qian-long emperor's decision and Shun's reverential treatment of Yao's son to fashion a political ritual since known as "Yu bin 虞賓"; "Fangshan bai ling" 房山拜陵, *HX* 3, pp. 109b–10b. It appears that the order for this change given by the emperor was either never carried out, or never issued, as alleged. After the completion of *Baqi Manzhou*, there did not seem to have been any additional revisions or new compilations after 1753, esp. any imperially commissioned. See E'ertai 鄂爾泰 et al., comp., *Baqi Manzhou shizu tong pu* (1744; rpt. Shenyang: Liaohai chuban she, 2002).

[22] See "Fangshan bai ling," in *HX* 3, pp. 109b–10b. In the fall of 1843, when recalled to the capital, Linqing attempted to pay a visit to the tombs, but instead had to attend to urgent business in the capital and was anxious about reports that tigers were frequenting the tomb grounds. Then, in fall of 1845, he and his sons reached the imperial tomb site with the help of the tomb guards, who were said to have fended off the marauding tigers still frequenting the area.

[23] Among the Wanyan ancestors of early Qing, Liubao 留保 (*z.* Songyi 松裔, ?–?) actively fraternized with Daoists. A trusted official of the Kangxi emperor and a mentor to the literary genius Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1798), Liubao left several poems about his visit to Daoist sacred sites; see his "Shangqing ji shi" 上清即事, in Tiebao 鐵保, *Qin ding xi chao ya song ji* 欽定熙朝雅頌集 (Hangzhou: n.p., 1804) 26, pp. 8a–9a. For information on their early Qing ancestors, see the biog. of Ashitan 阿什坦 in *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志, rpt. in Qian Yiji 錢儀吉, comp., *Beizhuan* 碑傳集 (1893, in *QDZJ*, vol. 109, pp. 92–98. See Enhua 恩華, *Baqi yiwen bian mu* 八旗藝文編目 (Beijing: n.p., 1941). For recent studies of the Wanyan lineage in Beijing, see Ding Yizhuang 定宜庄, "Neiwufu Wanyan shijia kao" 內務府完顏世家考, *Qing shi lun cong* 清史論叢 (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chuban she, 1996, pp. 133–45, and Jing Ai 景愛, *Huangyi chen fu, Beijing de Wanyan shi* 皇裔沉浮北京的完顏氏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002).

[24] See Qian Shifu 錢實甫, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* 清代職官年表 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 427–28. For biographic information on Wanyan Dai, see Hashikawa Tokio 橋川時雄, *Manshū bungaku kōhai kō* 滿州文學興廢考 (Beiping: Moji Dōmeisha, ca. 1942), p. 38a.

Between the early 1790s and his death in 1801, lord Xiaoyan served in several key Henan positions at a time when the court was confronted by a revolt of the White Lotus sect 白蓮教. The millenarian uprising started in Hubei initially around 1796, and quickly spread to the neighboring provinces of Sichuan, Anhui, Henan, Hunan, Shaanxi, and Gansu, challenging Manchu rule in those places.[25]

Both lord Xiaoyan's private and professional lives were affected by the rebellion. Just a few years earlier, in the spring of 1791, while serving as the Nanyang prefect, he became a grandfather, with the birth of Linqing. At the time, Wanyan Tinglu 完顏廷鏴 (?–1821?), his son and Linqing's father, was serving as the prefect of Suzhou, hundreds of miles from Nanyang, which was the Wanyans' home away from their banner residence in Beijing. Tinglu's absence made lord Xiaoyan cherish his grandson even more. He took an enthusiastic part in Linqing's upbringing. When Linqing reached the age of six *sui*, lord Xiaoyan took time from busy work to teach him to read. Linqing recalled years later that he took his first lessons in the Manchu language (*guoyu* 國語) with his grandfather. Later, when the overwhelming workload of official duties rendered it impossible for him continue giving lessons, lord Xiaoyan arranged to have special tutors to teach Linqing at home school. But he also nearly lost his grandson in 1796, when the White Lotus rebellion reached Nanyang.

Located in the southwestern corner of Henan, Nanyang occupied an important defensive position. To the north and east, the Yellow River and the Huai River connected the vast North China Plain and northwestern regions to the coastal provinces. South of Henan lay the prefecture of Xiangyang, a key strategic stronghold and the center of trade in the Han River valley, which connected the grain-rich and populous Hu-Guang region downstream to the frontier provinces of Shaanxi and Gansu upstream and northwest. Because of its geographically central location, Nanyang was always a strategic region hotly contested by imperial contenders throughout Chinese history. It came as no surprise that when the 1796 uprising broke out in the Han River valley, it first spread northward to Nanyang.

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[25] For the history of White Lotus sectarianism in late imperial China, see B.J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), and Blaine C. Gaustad, "Rebellious Sectarianism and the State in Mid-Qing China: Background to the White Lotus Uprising of 1796–1804," Ph.D. diss. (Berkeley: University of California, 1994). For the Qing court efforts at suppressing the sectarian uprising, see also Le Bao 勒保 (1740–1819), *Ping ding jiao fei ji shi* 平定教匪記事 (rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chuban she, 1971).

One day that year, the boy Linqing was playing in the courtyard of the Quanzhen Daoist Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery, located in the northwestern quarter of the city. Unknown to him, a roving band of the White Lotus rebels led by Zhou Sanye 周三野 had invaded the Nanyang region by surprise. They looted, pillaged, and burned towns and villages as they made their way toward the city. As the rebels approached the monastery, the young Linqing went on with his play at the monastery grounds, unaware of the imminent threat to his life. Realizing the danger of the situation, a Quanzhen Daoist priest by the name of Wang Laican 汪來粲 quickly grabbed Linqing and hid him in the thicket of a banana tree, covering him with its leaves. After the rebels left, the Daoist then took Linqing back home to his mother and grandparents at the prefect's residence in the city.

Seeing that their grandson had escaped the marauding rebels unscathed, the grateful lord Xiaoyan and his wife, lady Socoro 索綽羅, a devotee to the Daoist patriarch Lü Dongbin, followed an age-long practice by having their grandson adopt the priest as his protector and mentor.

The rescue by the Daoist left a profound impression on Linqing. It was one of the events he interpreted as part of a certain "predestined bond (*yuan* 緣)" that ultimately shaped his life. In 1832, thirty-seven years later, and on his way to Guizhou, Linqing paid a special visit to the monastery in the hope of reuniting with his Daoist teacher, but he found out to his dismay that the master had passed away. He recorded his forlorn feeling of loss in the poem discussed at the beginning of this article.

By the time lord Xiaoyan was leaving Nanyang to assume the office of grain-tax circuit intendant in Kaifeng in 1797, he had cultivated close ties with the Quanzhen monastery, as evidenced by the the "Stele of Virtuous Governance ("Dezheng bei 德政碑"), alluded to in Linqing's poem. The stele glorified lord Xiaoyan's tenure in Nanyang as one that belonged to the venerated category of "virtuous governance," elevating him to the status of a sage official of classical antiquity.[26]

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[26] The stele was titled "A Stele of Lord Xiaoyan's Virtuous Governance" 曉巖公德政碑. Linqing made several references to the commemorative stele in his illustrated autobiography; *HX* 2, p. 22b. On recent field trips to Nanyang in the summers of 2004 and 2005, I found out that this and many other steles were removed from the forecourt of the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery during the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s. Carved out of limestone slabs, some of the removed steles were deemed a good source of ingredients for iron smelters, which were intensively operated at that time. While some were smashed to pieces for that purpose, others were used as construction materials for roads, bridges, and government buildings in the city. But quite a few were rescued by the staff members of

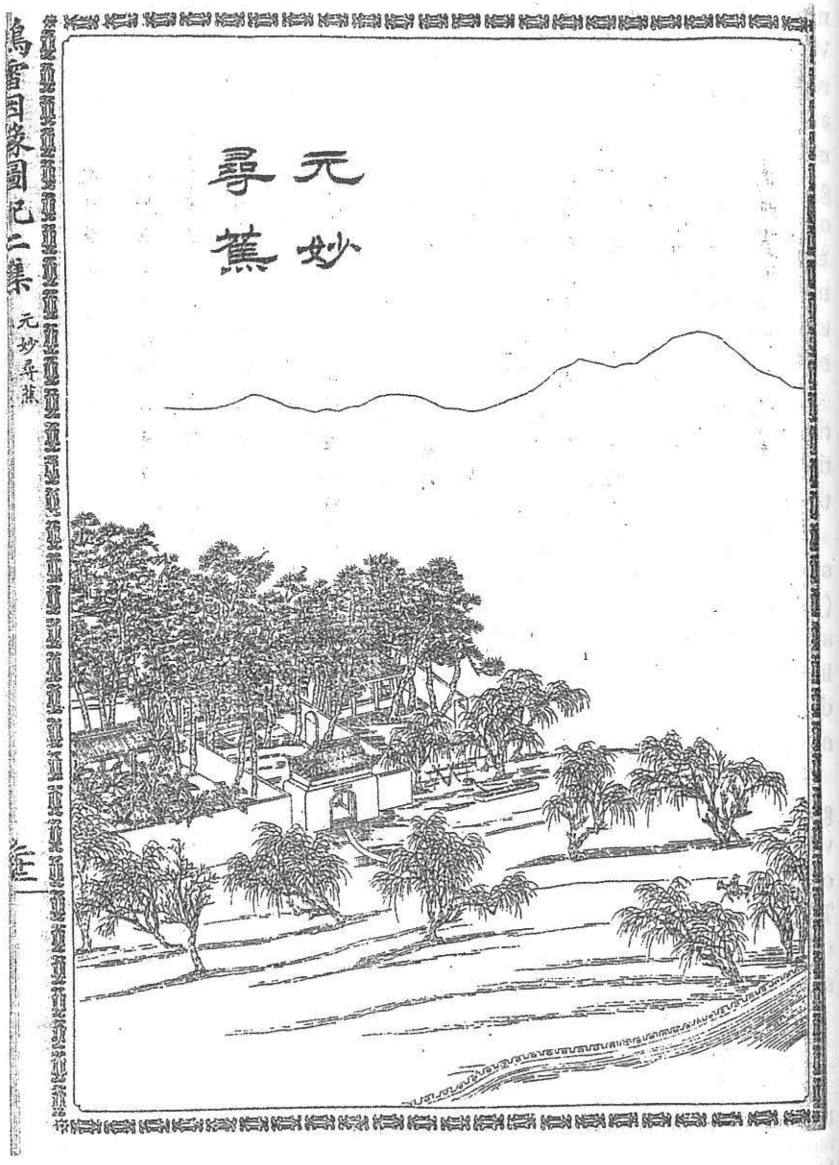
元妙尋蕉
鴻雪因緣圖記二集
元妙尋蕉

Figure 1. Searching for the Banana Tree at the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery "Yuanmiao xun jiao" 元妙尋蕉; *HX* 2, p. 22a.

A routine gesture of appreciation by the local community toward a departing magistrate, such a stele would typically be erected in front of the magistrate's office buildings. But this stele was erected in front of the Shrine of the Triple Pures 三清殿, the main temple of the monastery. Its central location in the monastic compound was indicative of the Nanyang Quanzhen Daoist community's special recognition of lord Xiaoyan as a patron and defender of their monastery, a major hub on the Quanzhen travel and pilgrimage circuit in north China in the late-nineteenth century.

The Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang was purportedly first established in the mid-1350s under the reign of the last Yuan emperor Huizong 惠宗 (r. 1333–1368), toward the end of the Quanzhen boom under Mongol rule. Throughout the Ming, the Nanyang prefectural administration maintained its office of Daoist Registrar 道紀司 at the monastery to oversee the Daoist affairs in the prefecture. During the early-Qing period, the monastery emerged as one of the important Quanzhen centers in central China.[27] It evolved a network of small cloisters and temples in the outlying counties of Nanyang prefecture and beyond. These affiliated cloisters and other Quanzhen temples in neighboring regions formed an important local and regional network of pilgrimage and travel for Daoists and lay followers alike. By the early-nineteenth century, the monastery alone had at least three affiliated large abbeys and cloisters in and around Nanyang. In 1813, the monastery had over one hundred Quanzhen monks and practitioners living there.[28] At its height during the Qing, the monastery

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Nanyang Cultural Relics Bureau, such as Mr. Wu Chen. With Wu's help, I tracked some of the extant steles in the city. Some are currently stored at the Nanyang Museum warehouse, while others are scattered in various places in the city. On my 2004 trip I spotted an 1813 temple stele being used by a local resident as the support bench for his flower pots. I also found three other early-Qing temple steles at a local garbage dump piled faced down to protect their inscribed texts. This past summer, I was able to retrieve and tap-print the inscribed texts off the three at the garbage dump. But I have yet to locate the stele in question. I think it is highly likely that it exists somewhere in the city.

[27] I have recently uncovered three Daoist temple steles in Nanyang, all of which attest to active patronage of the Quanzhen monastery by top Qing regional officials. A 1658 stele inscription reveals that there were at least sixty-one resident Daoist priests 道眾 at the monastery at that time; see "Zhang da Jiang jun shou yi ku gu bei" 張大將軍收瘞枯骨碑, in my own collection of stele rubbings.

[28] The data on the Quanzhen network for the Nanyang region are hard to come by. Based on the information gathered during my fieldwork, the monastery had two subordinated cloisters: one was the Palace of the Three Primordials 三元宮 at the historic site of Broad View Slope 博望坡, and the other was the Daoist Cloister on Mount of Solitude 獨山道院, located in the eastern suburbs. The monastery had a close affiliation with the Quanzhen clergy housed at the Hall of the Martial Marquis 武侯祠, located northwest of Nanyang. The number of Quanzhen priests living at the monastery then was

owned more than 350 real estate properties and 70 acres of farmland in and around the Nanyang area. It is said to have supported as many as 347 Quanzhen priests.[29] But more importantly, because of Nanyang's proximity to the Daoist sacred Mount Wudang 武當山 in neighboring Jun county 均縣, Hubei, and with the ascendance of the cults of the Daoist god Zhenwu 真武大帝 and the Daoist patriarch Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 during the Ming, the Nanyang Daoist monastery and its network also became a major center for pilgrims and itinerant priests who plied the water and land routes linking the Daoist temples on Mount Wudang in Hubei to the major Quanzhen centers located in Shaanxi and elsewhere.[30]

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approximately 102, as recorded on an 1813 stele which I found at the compound of the old monastery during my 2004 visit. See "A Stele of Strict Rectification of Pure Regulations at Xuanmiao Monastery" 元妙觀嚴整清規碑 (1813), photo in my collection. As the monastery courtyard was occupied previously by the KMT county government in the early 1920s, and by the CCP county government since 1949, the stele now serves as a stand for some potted plants in front of a residential building.

[29] The compilers of the 1904 county gazetteer recorded that the monastery "was inhabited by several hundred Daoists and was the foremost monastery southwest of the capital 黃冠行住動(輒？)數百人, 爲京師西南道觀之最." The figure given most likely reflected the situation before or around the Taiping rebellion in the 1850s; see Pan Shoulian 潘守濂 and Zhang Jiamou 張嘉謀, *Xin xiu Nanyang xian zhi* 新修南陽縣志 (1904; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chuban she youxian gongsi, 1976) 12, p. 24a. Yu Yinlin 于蔭霖 (1838–1904), who served briefly as the governor of Henan (1900–1901), sojourned in Nanyang afterwards and spent a lot of time at the Daoist monastery while recuperating from his illness. He provided an account of the lingering grandeur and wealth visible in the gardens and ponds at the Monastery toward the end of the Qing dynasty; Yu, "Xibei yuan ji" 西北園記, in ibid., 12, pp. 22a–24a. See also Nanyang xian defang zhi biancuan weiyuan hui 南陽縣地方誌編纂委員食, *Nanyang xianzhi* 南陽縣誌 (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 1990; hereafter, *NYXZ*), pp. 586–87. in my interviews there, elderly people could recall the magnificent garden ponds, winding paths, pavilions, and tree groves, which apparently existed until the late 1950s.

[30] The circuits of monastic travel among Quanzhen centers in Nanyang, Xi'an, temples on Mounts Huashan and Wudang, and farther to the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing can be discerned from several facts. One is the existence of a network of Zhengwu temples (known locally as Zushi miao 祖師廟) located throughout the Nanyang regions. The most well-known temple is the North Summit (Bei ding 北頂) located on Mount Wuduo (Wuduo shan 五朵山) west of Nanyang. Together with the South Summit (Nan ding 南頂) located on Mount Wudang, it was the center of the major annual regional cult and pilgrimage known as "worshipping the North Summit (*chao Bei ding* 朝北頂)," which drew worshippers from the whole Central Plain. The temple celebrates the memory of both the Daoist god Zhenwu, and Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (r. 1399–1402), the second Ming emperor, who is said to have escaped to the mount after being deposed by his uncle Zhu Di. There in the mountain, Zhu Yunwen purportedly engaged in Daoist self-cultivation, in imitation of the god Zhenwu, for more than four decades before attaining immortality and becoming one of the Daoist patriarchs (*zu shi* 祖師) widely worshipped throughout the Nanyang region. See Ai Tinghe 艾廷和 and Qiao Mingxian 喬明憲, "Zhongyuan daojiao sheng di Wuduo shan" 中原道教勝地五朵山, in Nanzhao xian wen-shi zi liao yanjiu weiyuan

The 1796 uprising immediately affected the life of the ordinary people in the neighboring regions. In Nanyang, the impact of the spreading revolt, as evidenced in Linqing's rescue, must have disrupted the established monastic patterns of life that involved travel and pilgrimage. Lord Xiaoyan proved particularly enthusiastic in suppressing the rebels in the province. Between 1799 and 1801, at the height of the Qing campaigns against the White Lotus uprising in Henan, lord Xiaoyan played a crucial role by first serving as the surveillance commissioner and then as the commissioner of finance for the province. He provided leadership and courage in raising militias and in leading Qing forces. In the ninth month of 1801, he died on his way to supervise the Qing defense against the rebels along the Yangtze River.[31] His commitment and courage earned him the respect and admiration of the Henan gentry, who erected a permanent tablet in his honor at a major commemorative shrine dedicated to the memory of ancient sages and worthy officials in the provincial capital of Kaifeng.[32]

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hui 南召縣文史資料委員會, comp., *Nanzhao wenshi ziliao* 南召縣文史資料 9 (1994), pp. 28–32. In my interviews with current Quanzhen priests in Nanyang, many spoke proudly of bygone days, when priors and abbots at Mount Wudan temples were all from the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang. The four abbots at the Nanyang Quanzhen monastery before the 1910s hailed from Shandong, Shaanxi, and Henan, and they had sojourned and held monastic posts at other major Quanzhen centers in Xi'an and Beijing, before Nanyang. See biogs. on abbots Lü Hezheng 呂合震 (?–1866) and Zhang Xuanyuan of Shandong, in Chen Minglin 陳明霖, *Taishang lue mai Longmen zhengzong chuan jie pu xi* 太上律脈龍門正宗傳戒譜系, long-hand scroll (photo in my collection). Yao Aiyun (?–1912), the prior at White Cloud Monastery in the early 1880s, came from Shaanxi before Nanyang, where he joined the monastery in 1885. See Yu, "Xibei yuan ji," in Pan and Zhang, *Xin xiu Nanyang* 12, pp. 22b–24a. Another influential abbot, Li Zhiran 李至然 (?–1939), abbot of the Nanyang monastery after the Republican revolution, also sojourned at the White Cloud Monastery and at the Eight Immortals' Cloister 八仙庵 in Xi'an, where he was abbot until the early 1910s. See Cao Tianduo 曹天鐸 1941, "*Hansan zi Li Zongyang dao xing bei* 涵三子李宗陽道行碑," (transcribed stele text and photo in my collection). Another indicator of these circuits is the diverse birthplaces of the monastic clergy at Nanyang. For the most recent and thorough study of the Quanzhen geography and distribution between 1700 and 1950, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Quanzhen 全真 Clergy, 1700–1900," in John Lagerwey, ed., *Religion and Chinese Society, Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U. of Hong Kong P., 2004), pp. 699–771. For the seasonal pilgrimage routes and participating communities in the cults centered at Wudang Mount during late-Qing and early-Republican times, see Wang Guangde 王光德 and Yang Lizhi 楊立志, *Wudang daojiao shi lue* 武當道教史略 (Beijing: Huawen chuban she, 1993), pp. 266–268.

[31] See "Huan cui cheng shi" 環翠呈詩, in *HX* 1, pp. 3a–3b.

[32] Lord Xiaoyan's tablet was worshipped at the Shrine of Lords Xiao and Cao 蕭曹祠 in Kaifeng, dedicated to the memory of Xiao He 蕭何 (?–193 BC) and Cao Can 曹參 (?–190 BC), who helped found and secure the Han empire, 2d c. BC; see *HX* 2, pp. 6b–7b.

Dreams, Destiny, and Encounters: The Spiritual Milieu of Linqing's Family

As did numerous contemporaries, the Wanyans attached great significance to dreams, which they viewed as playing a vital role in uncovering and defining individual's situations. As such, dreams figured prominently in the lives of three generations of the family. In those dreams, Daoist deities, immortals, and patriarchs appeared. It is no wonder that, growing up in such a family, Linqing was influenced by Daoist-inspired dreams as a guiding that could shape his life.[33]

Lord Xiaoyan's daughter-in-law and Linqing's mother, Yun Zhu 惲珠 (*z.* Zhenpu 珍浦 and Xinglian 星聯, 1771–1833) provides a clear example. Her given name means "Pearl," and it invoked a potent dream her grandmother had at the time of her birth. She came from a long line of literati who exemplified both the highest Confucian virtues and the spirit of Daoist freedom and escapism. One of her early ancestors was councilor to the provincial commissioner of finance in Fujian under the Ming dynasty. But the grandson of that ancestor, a great scholar, refused to serve the Qing court out of a sense of Confucian loyalty. He lived out his life as a recluse commoner, giving lessons in the classics. With such virtuous ancestors, expectations for Yun Zhu were high almost from the time of her birth. Following a well-established cultural practice among some traditional elite, Yun Zhu claimed that her birth was attended by her grandmother's propitious dream. In her dream, lady Tang allegedly saw an old woman coming to visit. The woman handed her a large pearl, whose brilliance filled up the bedchamber. Interpreting such a dream as a propitious sign of the newborn granddaughter's extraordinary character and talent, lady Tang subsequently named her Zhu, or "Pearl."

Yun Zhu continued to report dreams well into adulthood. She believed that they presaged and affirmed her persona and career as a literary and artistic virtuoso who in prior existence had been a celestial scribe in a Daoist empyrean. One of her dreams evoked the Daoist lore of encounters with immortals on remote islands. In it, Yun Zhu envisioned herself as

a traveler to an island in the sea, where she found lotus flowers as large as cart wheels.[34] Later, she would tell people that she used to serve as a scribe in charge of esoteric scriptures on Scarlet Fragrance Isle 紅香島, a Daoist celestial paradise of immortals, and that she was simply banished to the world of mortals. She called her library the Studio of the Scarlet Fragrance 紅香館 and adopted a Daoist-sounding studio name for herself—Daoist from Lotus Lake 蓮湖道人.

Yun Zhu matured as a woman of great expertise. She was a consummate poet, acute literary critic and compiler, a refined painter, an inspiring instructress in the classics and poetry, an understanding wife, a loving mother, and a revered matron and household manager.[35] To some of her contemporaries, her self-identity as a banished celestial immortal living out a life according to her dream was more than a literary conceit. Rather, it was seen as proof of the Daoist lore come true.[36] While Yun Zhu's sense of the self and her outlook on life reflected a common cultural practice about among some of the traditional elite, the latter also had deep connections with Daoist notions of preexistence and Daoist lore about keenly talented humans as banished immortals.[37]

Yun Zhu was a major influence upon her children's education and training as future elite literati, and in this regard her religious and spiritual beliefs and practices also inspired and influenced their outlook on life. Like his mother, Linqing recorded crucial events and dreams that were imbued with Daoist notions of cosmic forces and predetermined bonds of human relationships. The title of his illustrated autobiography, "An Illustrated Record of the Goose-Tracks on the Snow," evokes the metaphors of Su Shi's poetry, as mentioned, above.[38] For Linqing, recording and piecing together unfolding events were like the weaving of a fabric of one's life. Understanding the intricate connections held the key to a fulfilled life. In a preface to the illustrated autobiography, one of Linqing's protégés explained the idea of a "predestined or causal bond" whereby destiny was revealed through one's recognition of the links between past, present and future, and between self and others:

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[33] Dreams and dream divination and interpretation in traditional China have been the focus of studies by sinologists and historians of China in the past few decades; Carolyn T. Brown, ed., *Psycho-Sinology: The Universe of Dreams in Chinese Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars 1988); also Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-Tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), and idem, "Divination in Ch'ing Dynasty China," in Richard J. Smith and D.W.Y. Kwok, eds., *Cosmology, Ontology, and Human Efficacy* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P., 1993), pp. 141–78.

[34] Elements of Yun Zhu's dream are highly reminiscent of early Daoist hagiographic accounts of fantastical encounters. The chapter on imperial investitures (Fengchan shu 封禪書) in the *Records of the Historian* describes how the Han emperor Liu Che 劉徹 was fascinated with possible encounters with immortals on remote isles of the Eastern Seas, where magical fauna of extraordinary size and longevity flourished. According to Sima Qian, the Daoist magician Li Shaojun 李少君 told the Han emperor that he had visited the immortal An Qi Sheng 安期生 who gave him the melon-sized giant dates of longevity. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 28, in *Ershi wu shi*, vol. 1, p. 175.

[35] For additional biographical information about Yun Zhu, see Pan Shi-en, "Yun taifuren zhuan" 惲太夫人傳, in *QDZJ*, vol. 114, pp. 347–49, and Ying He 英和, "Yun taifuren zhuan" 惲太夫人傳, ibid., pp. 349–50. On Yun's role in women's literary and religious activism, see Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1997).

[36] Cai Zhiding 蔡之定, who composed her epitaph at Linqing's behest, noted that Yun Zhu's life was a verification of legends about immortals who lived their lives among mortals; see "Wanyan mu Yu tai furen mubiao ming" 完顏母惲太夫人墓表銘, in Qian, *Bei zhuan ji* (*QDZJ*, vol. 114), pp. 344–47.

[37] Yun Zhu's self-perception as an exiled immortal from the Daoist empyrean is a common trope in traditional elite writings about the self and talent, which stress otherworldliness and unconventionality or an individual's knack. The Tang poet Li Bai 李白 (701–762) is often described as a banished immortal (*zhe xian* 謫仙).

> Everything has without exception its causal bond. But as time passes, it all becomes goose-tracks in the snow. Certainly one cannot generalize about this. When people engender these causal bonds, they may bestow them through delicate acts upon others. But the recipients through their own nonchalance or casualness may regard these bonds as simply goose-tracks in the snow. By not expressing them prominently in speech and words, they insubstantiate these bonds until they become empty, so that [eventually] they do not know that the bond of humanity begins first with one's parents and continues with the grace of the sovereign. After that, it goes on with one's officials or subjects, one's in-laws, friends and associates, with mountains and valleys, with days of rain as well as those of sunshine, and with animals and plants. They all must have their presence in speech and words.[39]

It is with the purpose of sorting out and confirming such causal bonds that Linqing committed to words the events, persons, and encounters that had left an indelible and lasting impact.

A Daoist-Bound Destiny: Playing with the Elixir at the Hall of Lengthening Life

One such event took place at the compound of the Grains and Salt Tax Circuit Administration in Kaifeng in 1797, when the boy Linqing was living there. A pavilion in the rear courtyard, not far from the family school, was set up for Linqing and his brothers. With the two words, "Lengthening Life 延年" written on its front-piece plaque, the pavilion was said to have been inhabited by a Daoist immortal. All its windows and doors remained tightly shut throughout the year, except on days of ritual worship and sacrifice. Linqing reported that on a moonlit night in 1798, while walking back from the family school, he suddenly spotted an elixir (*dan* 丹) pill, as round as a pearl and as bright as fire. It soared into the clouds and shone as bright as the moon. As it floated in and out of sight, the ball suddenly split into two. One flew up in to the clouds while the other fell downward. Then all of sudden, the one from the sky started to descend, to merge with the one rising, both emanating a propitious five-colored radiance. As the two pill-balls of elixir merged, they exploded into a brilliant cascade of sparks. As Linqing stared at the spectacle, one of the cascading sparks fell on his shoulder. He let out a scream, and the pill disappeared in a blink.[40]

Linqing did not elaborate on the significance of this encounter in his autobiography. But contemporary readers would have understood it as an omen. By describing the encounter with an immortal's spirit (in the form of the elixir ball) in such vivid detail, and by placing it on the first page of his life story, Linqing created an identity inextricably linked to the cosmic and divine. Together with his rescue by a Daoist, it marked him as someone who had been "touched" by an immortal's spirit, thus affirming a successful path in life.[41]

Twenty-seven year later, in the second month of 1825, Linqing would receive promotion as the new circuit intendant for the Yellow River Works for Kaifeng and Guide 歸德 prefectures. Upon his arrival in Kaifeng, Linqing did something extraordinary. Instead of first checking in at his office, he went straight to his childhood haunt: the Pavilion of Lengthening Life at the compound where his grandfather once held court, and where he had been showered with the sparks from the elixir. There, Linqing paid homage by kowtowing to the immortal's spirit in the old pavilion. In a poem he composed for the occasion, Linqing described the thrill and excitement of being reunited with the sacred site:

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[38] Actually, the phrase "hongxue" has two meanings. One refers to a large snowfall, while the other means the goose-tracks on snow. By extension, the latter is invoked to mean the traces of things old or past. In this context, Linqing's naming of his book was most likely inspired by Su Shi's poem to his brother; see n. 2, above.

[39] See Ruan Yuan 阮元, "Hongxue yinyuan tuji xu" 鴻雪因緣圖記序, in HX 1, pp. 3a–b.

[40] See *HX* 1, pp. 2a–b.

[41] Linqing's assiduous self-promotion as a "blessed" and therefore "lucky" person was supported by colleagues, friends, and protégés, some of whom portrayed him as the reincarnation of "a blessed star (*fu xing* 福星)" whose success in life and career was predestined due to both his imperial pedigree and his inborn literary talents and administrative skills. See Zhong Shiyao 鍾世耀, "Hongxue yinyuan tu ji xu" 鴻雪姻緣圖記序, in *HX* 1, pp. 6a–7a.

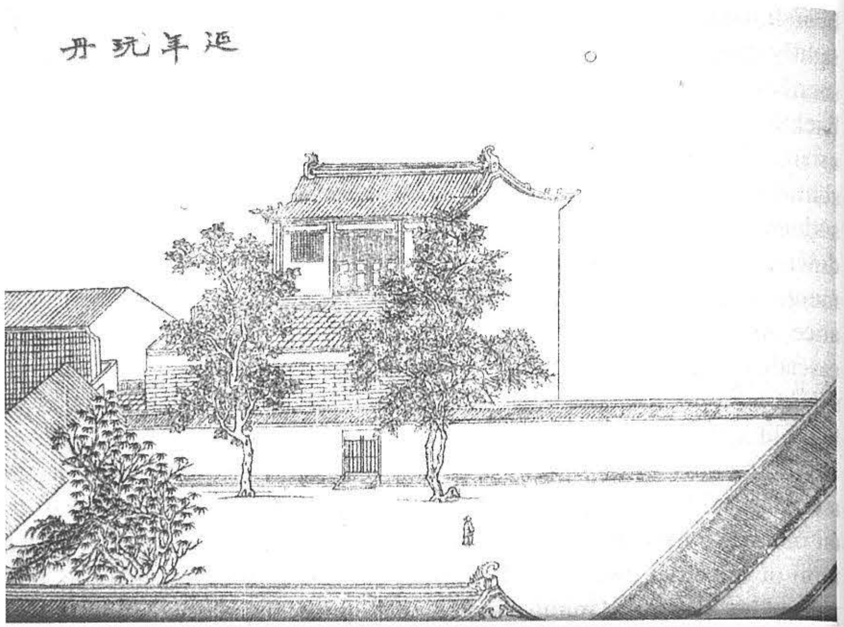

Figure 2. Playing with the Elixir at the Hall of Lengthening Life "Yan nian wan dan" 延年翫丹; *HX* 1, p. 1a.

少小曾遊處	As a lad, I once roamed the grounds;
而今作宦遊	Now I return as an official for a visit.
未參新政府	Before checking in at my new office,
先問舊書樓	I first call upon thee, old Pavilion.
祖德期無忝	How can I live up to my ancestors' virtues?
君恩那得酬	How can I repay my Sovereign's magnanimity?
觀民原乏術	Hardly skilled in governing the people,
況復奠黃流	Now I have the added duty to worship the Yellow River.[42]

His joy was doubled by his return as a high official. Facing his duties in managing the ever threatening floods of the Yellow River, Linqing mused over the challenge of having to live up to the expectations of the throne and of his ancestors, such as lord Xiaoyan. While ending his poem on a cautious and modest tone, Linqing's initial exuberance at the beginning of the poem is simply too infectious and strong to fade away. He was also affirming his childhood fantasy—a prophecy come true, an unfolding of a special destiny promised and manifested to him through that encounter with the divine immortal's spirit residing at the old pavilion.

Linqing's account of the flying elixir is significant for another reason. It demonstrates his familiarity with the Daoist discourse on self-cultivation and transformation through inner alchemy. It recalls legendary encounters between Daoist immortals and their mortal counterparts. During such encounters, the latter were often bestowed with longevity, enlightenment, wealth, health, high office and other benefits. That the elixir rose out of the pavilion inhabited by an immortal reveals that the grown-up Linqing was conversant with Daoist inner alchemy. In such practice, the Daoist practitioner was believed to refine and renew himself by engendering a potent elixir within his own body. Such refined elixir, in effect the spirit, of a perfected adept was said to have been capable of intelligence and movement outside the adept's body. It could roam and fly. But the familiarity with these Daoist techniques that Linqing demonstrated was by no means unique or even uncommon. Rather it was part and parcel of an elite religious culture during the late-Qing era.

Linqing's autobiographical account of his encounters with the spirit and his patronage of Daoists and their monasteries can be viewed in another sense. They were efforts at validating and rehabilitating a career that had begun to decline in the early 1840s.

Associating with Daoists

Since antiquity, Daoists were seen as religious specialists with powers of prognostication and skills associated with cosmic forces that could shape human destinies. As such, Daoist adepts were sought for friendship and company by those seeking these insights. In his more than four decades of court service, from the early 1800s to the 1840s, Linqing befriended many Daoists.

In the fall of 1816, while visiting his parents and making arrangements for his third marriage in Jinan, Linqing encountered a Daoist master. On a tour of the scenic Daming Lake 大名湖 in Jinan, Linqing was deeply impressed by the interior decorations of a pavilion by the lake where he and his mother had dined. He was particularly intrigued by the refined couplet on the front of the chamber, with the signature of a certain "Master Drunken Zither 醉琴."

Having found out that the master was a Daoist at the Pavilion of the Pole 北極閣 located on an island in the lake, Linqing sought him out. The

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[42] See *HX* 1, pp. 2a–b.

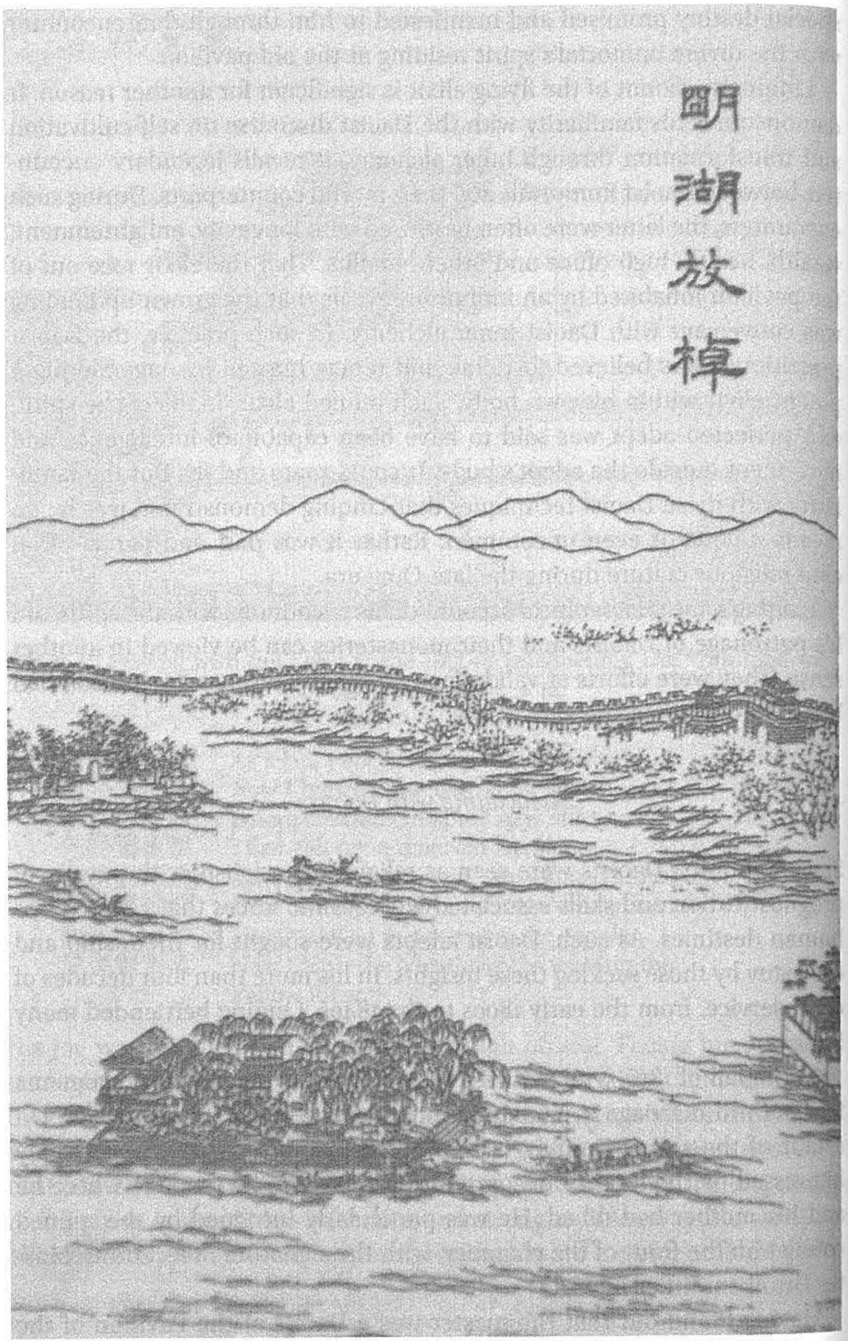

Figure 3. Boating on Lake Ming "Ming hu fang zhuo" 明湖放棹; *HX* 1, p. 45b.

following day, wearing proper attire, he hired a boat to call on the Daoist. The two hit it off right away; they spent hours exploring metaphysics and alchemy over tea inside the Daoist cloister, and then over wine in a boat adrift on the lake. The following evening, master Drunken Zither was so taken up with his young visitor that he invited three other like-minded friends to join them on a moonlit cruise on the lake. With the Daoist playing the flute, the revelers sang tunes from the Wu regions of Jiangnan. Listening to the music and songs, Linqing recalled years later that he felt transported to the Daoist celestial realm:

久事元君泰嶽巔	Having long served the Primordial Sovereign on Mount Tai's peak,
漫來此地奉金仙	I now ramble here to worship the golden immortal.
曲中山水參琴趣	While the subtlety of the zither intersperses with the mounts and moors around,
壺裏乾坤得醉禪	I derive drunken epiphanies from the cosmos within the wine jug.
十里明湖澄欄外	Ten miles of the clear lake are but a reflection outside the boat window,
萬峰秋色落尊前	While a thousand peaks of autumn colors fall in front of my cup.
道心寂歷塵心定	When the Heart of the Way is quiet, the heart of the dust settles down.
話到長生一齀醉	As we turn our discourse to longevity, I fall drunk smiling.[43]

As the melodious notes from the Daoist's zither interspersed with the scenes of the lake and mounts, and as the wine poured into his belly, Linqing felt his "Heart of Dust" settling down. The pleasure Linqing derived from the moonlit cruise and the wine was more than physical. As the last two lines suggest, the activities quieted the heart of dust and induced a drunken state of oneness with the universe. The Daoist Drunken Zither was aptly named, and, as the poem suggests, Linqing's association with the Daoists like him satisfied a desire for inner peace and tranquility, away from the decorum and propriety of the premarital rituals of gift-giving and social interaction. A moonlit cruise on the lake with the fall foliage on the distant mountains and the company of Daoists symbolize a classic literati desire to escape from obligations. Such desires would accompany Linqing as he went to his various posts in the Qing realm, and he continued to seek the friendship and company of Daoist priests and adepts.[44]

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[43] See "Ming hu fang zhuo" 明湖放棹, in *HX* 1, pp. 45b–46b.

Patronage of the White Cloud Monastery (1819–1845)

Linqing's patronage of Daoism was centered on the Quanzhen White Cloud Monastery in the capital. It began with his career at court, first as an imperial academician and compiler, and then a secretary in the Board of War. In 1814, after five years of service at the Imperial Academy of History (Guoshi guan 國史館), Linqing was promoted with strong recommendations to secretary of the Board of War. In the first month of that year, his father Tinglu had been reassigned from his post in Suzhou to serve as the prefect of Tai'an, Shandong. All the Wanyans except Linqing went with him to Tai'an. But in the fall of that year lady Guaerjia 瓜爾加, whom Linqing had married barely four years earlier, passed away. Alone in the capital, he devoted himself to court duties.

In his spare time, Linqing would visit the White Cloud Monastery located just outside the southwestern gate of the capital. The origin of the monastery can be traced to the Daoist Temple of Eternal Heaven 天長觀, which was first built in 737, during the Tang-dynasty reign of Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–741). By the late-ninth century, the temple had fallen into disrepair. Early in the Yuan the old temple began to thrive again, with the ascendence of the Quanzhen sect under the leadership of patriarch Qiu Chuji (discussed above). Qiu undertook a successful meeting with Gengis Khan in 1224, and subsequently was bestowed the title of "Divine Immortal 神仙" and given the charge of supervising all Daoist affairs in Mongol-ruled north China. With imperial sanction from the Mongol sovereign, Qiu and his followers took up residence at the defunct Temple of Eternal Heaven. They soon renovated it and renamed it "Palace of Eternal Spring 長春宮," in honor of Qiu, whose sobriquet was "Master of Eternal Spring 長春子." After Qiu's death in 1227, Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (*z*. Dahe 大和, *h*. Qinghe 清和, 1169–1251), his disciple and successor, built a cloister east of the old temple and named it "White Cloud Monastery 白雲觀," where he preserved Qiu's remains in one of the new temples. The monastery saw

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[44] Linqing continued visiting Daoists as he traveled. For his visits to Daoist temples while serving in Anhui, see "Yin xian ting qin" 隱仙聽琴, and "Bai yue qi nian" 白嶽祁年, in *HX* 1, pp. 62a–b, and 67a–b.

further expansions and continued to receive court patronage during the Ming and Qing periods.[45]

While the monastery celebrated the memory of a host of Daoist deities and patriarchs, patriarch Qiu Chuji was at the center of its legacy and appeal. Ever since the Jurchen Jin dynasty, Qiu and other early Quanzhen masters had remained the object of imperial patronage, particularly that offered by court officials and eunuchs. A thriving cult of the Quanzhen patriarch had evolved since at least the early Ming, centering on the annual festival celebrating the patriarch's birthday on the nineteenth of the first lunar month. The festival, which was held at the White Cloud Monastery around this time each spring, became known as "Yanjiu 燕九."[46]

During the Qianlong reign, the court patronized the monastery and the cult of patriarch Qiu. In the spring of 1786, the Qianlong emperor took notice of the decrepit condition of the monastery when he passed by it. He ordered the Imperial Household Department to contribute 8,600 taels of silver for its renovation. Upon the completion of the renovation in the spring of 1788, he went on an inspection tour of the monastery located in the western quarter of the capital. During his visit, he composed a poem and a memorial essay to commemorate the occasion in his characteristically self-aggrandizing way. Yet his writings reveal an admiring fascination with the Quanzhen patriarch's spiritual and moral legacy and his long-lasting appeal, since the Yuan.

The emperor's fascination was due in part to the fact that he shared the same *hao*, or style name, as the Quanzhen patriarch. His personal name was Hongli, and he adopted the style "Changchun jushi 長春居士," from the name given by his father, the Yongzheng emperor, to his studio during his youth. He later named all the studios he used after this first style-name.[47] That fact aside, Hongli's particular spiritual affinity to his

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[45] See Hu Ying 胡濙, "Baiyun guan chongxiu ji" 白雲觀重修記 (1444), and Wang Changyue 王常月, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan beiji" 重修白雲觀碑記 (1706), in *BTSK*, vol. 51, pp. 121–22, and vol. 66, p. 87. The stele inscription that bears Wang's name and the date of 1706 also referred to that year as the date of the completion of the construction. Yet as Koyanagi noted, Wang had died in 1680. The stele appears to have been composed and inscribed by someone else after Wang's death. For a brief summary of imperial patronage under the Yuan, Ming, and Qing courts, see Koyanagi Shigeta 小柳氣司太, *Hakuunkan shi* 白雲觀志 (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1934), pp. 1–29.

[46] For a recent discussion of the Yanjiu festivities, see Xun Liu, "Visualizing Perfection: Daoist Paintings of Our Lady, Court Patronage, and Elite Female Piety in the Late Qing," *HJAS* 64 (June, 2004), pp. 57–115.

[47] See Hongli 弘歷, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan bei ji" 重修白雲觀碑記, in *BTSK*, vol. 75, p. 93.

Daoist namesake may have stemmed from an anxiety about his political legacy as a ruler. By 1786, when he composed the commemorative essay about the Daoist patriarch, he had been on the throne for half a century. Now already in his mid-seventies, he would have good reason to reflect on how and whether his legacy would measure up to that of his father, and especially his grandfather the Kangxi emperor 康熙 (Xuanye 玄燁; r. 1662–1722). Dwelling on the meaning of "Eternal Spring," the proud Hongli reasoned:

> The conduct and words of Master Eternal Spring can be seen in the Daoist books and miscellaneous biographies. I, however, prefer his two remarks from historical sources.
>
> Heaven has four seasons. The spring flourishes, the summer grows, the autumn gathers in, and the winter stores. While each season administers its own manifestations, they all center on the spring. The growth in the summer further unfolds the spring. The fruition of the autumn is the respite of the spring. The storage of the winter is the container of the spring. The spring is the Qian trigram in the cosmos, the humanity in man, and the primary of the seasons in time. It is a unitary *qi* 氣 that connects all and generates life ceaselessly.
>
> I have also examined its meaning in "Treatise on the Minor Spring" 小春說, which states: "The great application of Heaven and Earth is called the spring. When humans attain it, it completes their body."
>
> It also states: "When the old are cared for, the young thrive. When the annual harvest is bumper, people are at peace. This is the spring in the world. When animals begin to wiggle from hibernation and plants start to shoot, following their respective natures through vigorous growth, this is the spring of multiple beings. When emperors and kings extend from their selves to benefit the people and multitude under heaven, this is their spring.
>
> I was fortunately bestowed by my emperor-father with a special tablet entitled, "Eternal Spring." Ever since then, I have named all my studios, bedchambers, and living-rooms likewise. This way, I could supinely integrate and embody the Way of Heaven, and extend it from myself to all that is under heaven, without a single day of lapse. This year, I have reached the age of seventy-eight *sui*. I have diligently applied myself. Viewing the whole realm, peace and joy reign, and people are happy and healthy. But not a singly day, I dare to regard this as my own merit.
>
> Master Chuji is a man from outside this world. His eternal spring relies on his perfection of his self and mind. His sayings "Revere the Heaven and love the people," and "Purify your heart and diminish your desires," are the eternal spring for emperors and kings. They are true and veritable. I thus think that they accord with me...."[48]

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[48] See Hongli, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan bei ji," and "Baiyun guan zhanli shi" 白雲觀瞻禮詩, *BTSK*, vol. 75, pp. 90 and 93.

The Qianlong emperor's charismatic patronage of patriarch Qiu's cult is symbolic of a larger Qing elite participation in the cultic worship of Daoist patriarchs. Such participation was institutionally backed by the powerful Imperial Household Department, which made annual donations from its coffers to support the staging of the annual festival for Patriarch Qiu's birthday. This fact Linqing duly noted on one of his tours of the White Cloud Monastery.[49]

It was against such a background that Linqing first developed admiration for patriarch Qiu, especially for what the Quanzhen patriarch had achieved in the interest of the people. In a eulogy composed in 1828 , Linqing praised the patriarch and his disciples:

> Examining the Song era from afar, people were then suffering from alienation and chaos. Taizu 太祖 of the Yuan had just vanquished forty states. His armies were just being unleashed southward. While a cosmic catastrophe was pending, and lives were hanging on a thread, Heaven chose to favor the Realized One (that is, Qiu Chuji). Having journeyed west and halted the killing, he, together with Yin and the Eighteen Lineage Masters, returned to comfort the drifting refugees. Every gentleman who studies history cannot but admire them. The (Daoist) lineage tradition of compassion and simplicity thus began to thrive with them!"

The occasion of this eulogy was a visit to the monastery. In 1819, most likely during the annual festival, Linqing joined the crowds that filled the White Cloud Monastery. As he recalled, while touring the Corridors of the Lineage Masters 宗師廡, which were two side shrines flanking the main temple in honor of patriarch Qiu, Linqing discovered to his dismay that the portraits of Quanzhen lineage masters on the walls of the Corridors were in a severe state of disrepair. So much so that the identities were barely recognizable. Linqing queried several Daoist priests at the monastery in order to determine those identities, but to no avail. As part of the entourage who had accompanied patriarch Qiu on his arduous journey to meet with Genghis Khan, the eighteen Quanzhen masters were credited with assisting the patriarch in dissuading the khan from committing massive slaughter in north China during the Mongol conquest. Yet the presiding abbot informed him that the original eighteen portraits had long since been lost, and what remained on the wall were the best available resemblences.

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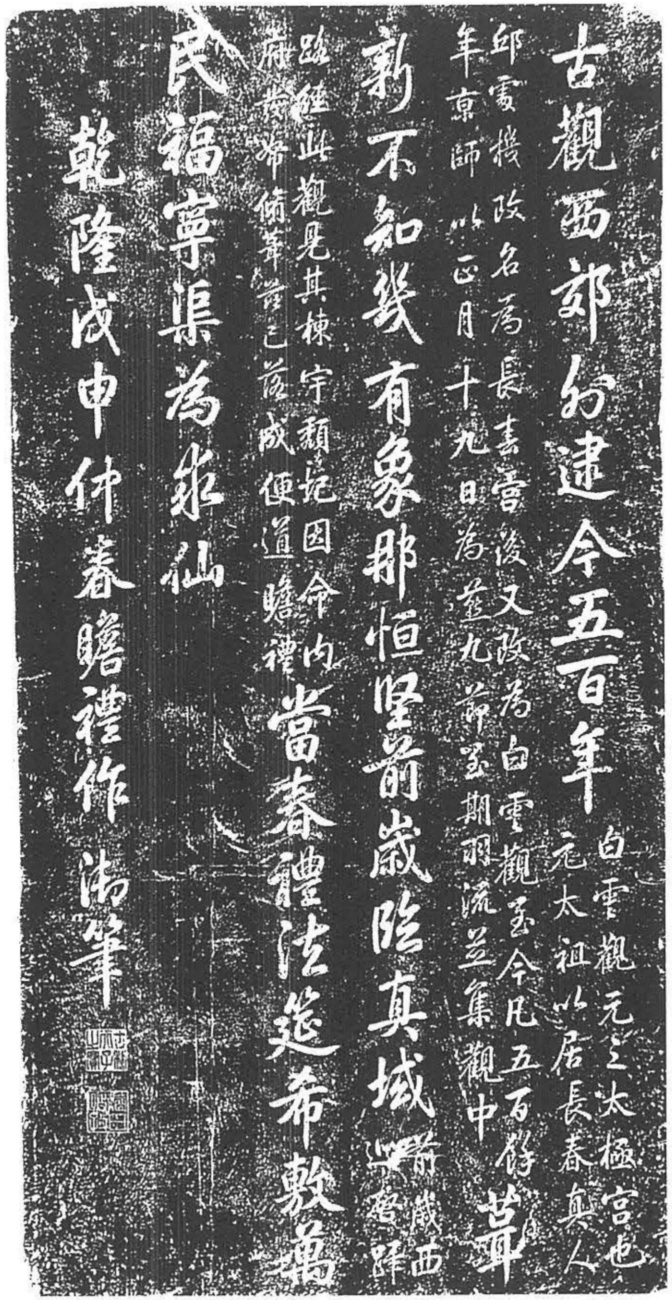
[49] See Wanyan Linqing, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji" 重修白雲觀宗師廡記, in Koyonagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, pp. 148–49.



古觀西郊剏建今五百年（白雲觀元之太極宮也元太祖以居長春真人邱處機改名為長春宮後又改為白雲觀至今凡五百餘載年京師以正月十九日為燕九節至期羽流畢集觀中）
新不知幾有象那恒堅前歲臨真域（前歲西巡啓蹕路經此觀見其棟宇頹圮因命內府發帑備葺茲已落成便道瞻禮）
當春禮法筵希敷萬
民福寧冀為求仙
乾隆戊申仲春瞻禮作 御筆

Figure 4. 1788 Stele of the Qianlong Poem on the White Cloud Monastery
BTSK 75, p. 90.

After this visit, Linqing met with Cai Mengyin 蔡夢因, a friend and colleague who shared his passion for the Quanzhen legacy. The two began to scour library collections at the court in an effort to retrieve and sort out the identities of the portrayed masters. Cai informed him that what remained at the monastery were the only extant portraits of the eighteen masters. Pained at the thought of losing this heritage, the two made a pact that they would first draw sketches of the remaining portraits in order to preserve them, and then they would have the eroded portraits repaired. A decade later in 1828, when Linqing was serving in the provincial capital of Kaifeng as the surveillance commissioner of Henan, he and several other friends joined with abbot Zhang Hezhi 張合智 (*z.* Jiaozhi 教智, fl. 1820s) to pay for the renovation of the side shrines at the White Cloud Monastery. The renovation was completed in three months, with new roofs and freshly repainted portraits of the eighteen masters.[50]

Linqing's patronage of the White Cloud Monastery mirrored a pattern of Qing bureaucratic elite involvement in Quanzhen Daoism. The Imperial Household Department's support of the Yanjiu festivities reflected the general interest in the monastery and the cult by two of its major constituents: the elite banner officials, who managed and supervised the operations of the Department, and the Han Chinese eunuchs, who provided services and care to the members of the imperial household. By the late-nineteenth century, many prominent banner families were involved in a voluntary association organized to fund and sustain the Yanjiu festival and the Hall of Patriarch Qiu at the White Cloud Monastery. In 1882, Liu Chengyin 劉誠印 (1840–1895) and Zhang Chengwu 張誠五, two powerful eunuch officials from the Department collaborated with a bannerman in establishing this association of devotees to patriarch Qiu. Named "The Permanent Sacred Society in Honor of [Master] Eternal Spring 長春永久供會," the association consisted of of 178 donors. Significantly, a majority, 111 donors, were bannermen and banner officials at the court. Five institutional donors appear to have been business establishments, such as restaurants or general supplies stores either patronized or financed by bannermen and eunuchs. The remaining sixty-two were a group of eunuch officials and eunuchs from the Department. The mission of the society was to raise funds to purchase lands and properties whose rents would ensure daily supplies needed for the continuous operation of the

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[50] Ibid.

Hall of Patriarch Qiu, and provide for the annual festival.[51] Among the donors, several were prominent officials, such as Changshun 長順 (*z.* Heting 鶴汀, ?–1904) and Lishan 立山 (*z.* Yufu 豫甫, ?–1900).[52]

Linqing and the Cult of Lü Dongbin

Aside from patriarch Qiu Chuji and the eighteen earlier masters of the Quanzhen school, the cult of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (fl. late Tang) constituted an important element of the Wanyans' religious world. Their participation in this cult reflected a long-established pattern of similar elite participation.

While historians still disagree on the historicity and identity of the figure of Lü Dongbin, it is generally accepted that by Northern Song times, Lü Dongbin's persona as a powerful healing and spiritual deity had

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[51] See "Changchun yongjiu shenghui huishou" 長春永久盛會會首 (1882), and Li Qijun 李其嶲, "Baiyun guan Changchun yongjiu gonghui beiji" 白雲觀長春永久供會碑記 (1886), in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 88, and vol. 86, pp. 6–7. For Liu and other eunuch officials and their conversion to Quanzhen Daoism, see Goossaert, "Taoists of Peking," pp. 183–86. For Liu's biogs., see Gao Mingtong 高明峒 (also known as Rentong 仁峒), "Suyun zhenren daoxing bei ming" 素雲真人道行碑銘, and Liu Zhirong 劉至融, "Suyun Liu xianshi beiji" 素雲劉先師碑記, in *BTSK*, vol. 87, pp. 128–29.

[52] Changshun was of the Dahulilebeier 達呼里勒貝爾 clan affiliated with the Manchu Plain White Banner. He served with distinction under Wenxiang (1818–1876) in suppressing bandits in Manchuria, and later under Shengbao 勝保 in campaigns against the Nian rebels. In 1877 he was promoted to commandant of the Hanjun Plain Banner 漢軍正白旗都統 and commander of the Imperial Bodyguards 內大臣. A skilled field commander, he was particularly noted for martial talents and bravery in a series of campaigns on the Qing frontiers in Manchuria and the northwest. He served as military governor at Uliastuai 烏里雅蘇臺 in 1871 and later at Jilin in 1888. He died in 1904. See Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽, *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (*liezhuan* 列傳, *j.* 248), in *Ershi wu shi*, vol. 12, p. 1449; also Gu Yun 顧雲, "Taizi shaobao Jilin jiangjun En te he en Batulu yi Zhongjing Guoboluo gong shendao bei ming" 太子少保吉林將軍恩特赫恩巴圖魯諡忠靖郭博羅公神道碑銘, in *QDZJ*, vol. 118, pp. 65–72.

Lishan came from the Tumote 土默特 clan of the Mongol Plain Yellow Banner. A trusted veteran official at the Inner Court, he served such high posts as superintendent of the Suzhou Silk Manufactory 監蘇州織造 (1879), minister of the Imperial Household Department 內務府大臣 and deputy commandant of the Hanjun Plain White Banner (1883); later he became president of the Board of Revenues (1900). At the height of the Boxer riots, Lishan was embroiled in a clash at court with the powerful, conservative, prince Zaiyi 載漪. Lishan was thought to be sceptical of the touted strength of the Boxers, and he opposed the prince's policy of using the Boxers against foreigners. Because Lishan resided next to a foreign church, Zaiyi accused Lishan of colluding with the foreigners and maneuvered to have him sentenced to death in the summer of 1900. See Zhao, *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi*, vol. 12), p. 1454, and the entry in *Qing shi lie zhuan* 清史列傳 reprinted in *QDZJ*, vol. 103, pp. 480–83.

become associated with emerging practices of Daoist inner alchemy.[53] In the twelfth century, Lü was incorporated as one of the five grand patriarchs (*wu zu* 五祖) into the Quanzhen pantheon.[54] By the time of the Yuan dynasty, Lü, together with other Quanzhen patriarchs and early masters, had become the recipient of regular court patronage and investitures of awe-invoking titles, such as Imperial Sovereign (*di jun* 帝君). With the proliferation of his cults throughout China, Lü became one of the most celebrated Daoist immortals and deities among both the elite and the common folk. As Quanzhen Daoism spread from the north and northwest to the rest of China during the Yuan, Lü Dongbin found his way into Quanzhen temples and cloisters, which frequently were centers of worship and pilgrimage for lay devotees among commoners and the elite alike.[55]

Since the Song era, Lü Dongbin had been portrayed as a magical healer and peddler of medicine who revived the sick and dying with his alchemic elixir pills.[56] Popular hagiographical accounts since the Jin period had portrayed him as a witty, powerful yet compassionate deity who responded efficaciously to his followers' calls for help with spiritual enlightenment or life-saving medical recipes, or both.[57] This image had rendered him one of the most sought-after Daoist deities, one that frequently descended to séance sessions.[58] By Qing times, the cult of Lü Dongbin had become widespread and integrated into the daily life of both the elite and commoners.[59]

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[53] See Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Yueh-yang and Lü Tung-pin's Ch'in-yuan ch'un: A Sung Alchemical Poem," in G. Naundorf et al., eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65 Geburtstag* (Wurzburg: Könighausen und Neumann, 1985), pp. 19–31; also idem, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Song Literature," *CEA* 2 (1986), pp. 133–69.

[54] Zhang Guangbao 張廣保, "Meng Yuan shiqi de Quanzhen puxi kao" 蒙元時期全真譜系考, in Lu Guolong 盧國龍, ed., *Hongdao yu chuangcheng, Quanzhen jiao yanjiu luwen ji* 宏道與傳承全真教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: Qingsong chuban she, 2004), pp. 134–62.

[55] The prominent Lü Dongbin center during the Yuan, the Palace of Eternal Joy, has been studied by Jing Anning, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Taoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368)," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton U., 1993), and Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1999). For a study of the cult in the Southern Song period, see Isabelle Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin sous les Song du Sud," *JA* 285.2 (1997), pp. 473–507. For the proliferation of Lü Dongbin hagiographies as dramatic tropes in the Yuan era, see Richard Fu-sen Yang, "Lü Tung-pin in the Yüan Drama," Ph.D. diss. (Seattle: U. of Washington, 1955).

[56] See Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature," pp. 139–40. On the association of Lü with herbal drug preparations during the late-imperial era, see Ho Peng Yoke, Beda Lim, and Francis Morsingh, "Elixir Plants: The Ch'un-yang Lü Chen-jen yao shih chih 純陽呂真人藥石制 (Pharmaceutical Manual of the Adept Lü Ch'un-yang)," in Nathan Sivin and Shigeru Nakayama, eds., *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T.P., 1973), pp. 153–202.

[57] The image of Lü Dongbin as both enlightener and healer appeared in the Daoist hagiographies and mural paintings at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Yuan era and such aspects of his power remained part of his divinity later on (anonymous, *Lüzu zhi*

In Beijing, along with the cults of Guandi, Our Lady of Mount Tai, and Guanyin, the Lü Dongbin cult was the fourth most popular in terms of numbers of followers and dedicated temples. The cult was favored by many officials, literati, sojourning merchants, as well as local residents in the capital. Many followers formed their own devotional groups or private shrines where they engaged in divination and spirit-writing practices.[60] The patriarch's birthday on the fourteenth of the fourth month was celebrated at temples and shrines in and around the capital that honored him either as the sole god, or as one of several deities.[61] Many devotees

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呂祖志, in *DZ*, vol. 36, pp. 446–89); see Miao Shishan 苗時善, "Chunyang dijun shenhua miao tong ji" 純陽帝君神化妙通記, in *DZ*, vol. 5, pp. 703–33 (see also Jing, "Yongle Palace," and Katz, *Images of the Immortal*). By mid-18th c., his exploits as healer had become widely disseminated via hagiographies; see Liu Tishu 劉體恕, comp., *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (1744; rpt. Xiangtang: Chongshan tang, 1808),

[58] By the late-imperial period, Lü Dongbin had become widely popular among the literati class, a fact noted by many early sinologists; see Henry Doré (1920), *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, Part 2, Book VI, trans. by M. Kennelly, S.J. (rpt. Taipei: Cheng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), p. 70.

[59] For most recent studies of the spirit-writing cult, see Mori Yuria, "Identity and Lineage: The 'Taiyi jinhua zhongzhi' and the Spirit-Writing Cult to Patriarch Lü in Qing China," and Shiga Ichiko, "Manifestations of Lüzu in Modern Guangdong and Hong Kong: The Rise and Growth of Spirit-Writing Cults," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P., 2002), pp. 165–84, and 185–209. For spirit-writing and the western lineage 西派 of the Daoist inner-alchemy of late-Qing Sichuan, see Huang Zhaohan 黃兆漢, *Daojiao yanjiu lunwen ji* 道教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: Chinese U. of Hong Kong P., 1988).

[60] From the late-18th to late-19th cc., at least five temples in Beijing were named after the patriarch; these celebrate him as the primary deity; see Xu Daoling 許道齡, *Beiping miao yu tong jian* 北平廟宇通檢 (Beiping: Guoli Beiping yanjiu yuan shixue yanjiu hui, 1936) *j. 1*, pp. 6, 65, 120, and 171; and *j.* 2, p. 44. Xu's list does not include special shrines attached to Dao-ist and Buddhist monasteries in the capital. Nor does it include any of the numerous smaller shrines and cloisters that worshipped the patriarch either as one among other chief deities, or as an ancilliary god.

[61] From the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, there were at least five temples named after the patriarch in the capital which celebrate him as their primary deity. See Xu Daoling 許道齡, *Beiping miao yu tong jian* 北平廟宇通檢 (Beiping: Guoli Beiping yanjiu yuan shixue yanjiu hui, 1936) *j.* 1, pp. 6, 65, 120, and 171, and *j.* 2, p. 44. Xu's list does not include special shrines attached to Daoist and Buddhist monasteries in the capital. Nor did it include any of the numerous smaller shrines and cloisters which worshipped the patriarch either as one among other chief deities, or as ancilliary gods.

came to such temples to seek intercession for such vital matters as healing and success in the state examinations.[62]

As part of the Quanzhen pantheon, the patriarch's memory was also celebrated in one of the well-attended temples at White Cloud Monastery. The first shrine exclusively in his honor was completed in 1796. At least two high-ranking Qing court officials were involved as donors. Peng Yunhui 彭蘊輝 (*z.* Qusheng 蘧生, *h.* Puyan 璞巖, Yuanfeng 遠峰, 1779–1809), a Hanlin academician from Changzhou, Jiangsu, and Miao Yuanyi 繆元益 (*z.* Chengxiang 澄香, *h.* Dongsheng 東生, ?–1835), the president of the Board of Revenue from Wuhu, Anhui, collaborated with the abbot and other monastic leaders in raising a total of 4,800 taels of silver for building the shrine exclusively honoring the patriarch.[63]

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the most prominent and well-attended temple in honor of the patriarch was arguably the Shrine of Patriarch Lü 呂祖祠, which was located in the bustling Liulichang market 琉璃廠 district outside the Gate of Promoting the Martial 宣武門 in the southwestern quarter. The history of the shrine dated back to the Ming dynasty. Between 1850 and 1867, it underwent two major renovations and expansions. The first expansion was a joint effort between Zhang Jiaoliang 張教亮, the resident Quanzhen priest at the shrine, and a group of sojourners mostly from Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang, a region most well-known for providing *muyou* 幕友, those quasibureaucratic legal and financial specialists who served on the staff of high-ranking court and provincial officials during the Qing era. So while the stele commemorating the expansion did not give any details on the social background of the major donors, the fact that they were from Shaoxing suggests that they were either merchants, students, or most likely the staff councilors, deputies, or protégés of high-ranking officials stationed in the capital. Of the total contribution of about 1,101 strings of cash (*diao* 吊), the three leading donors from Zhejiang gave about 420 strings. The balance was made up of donations from other individual and family donors, local philanthropic groups, and business establishments that appear to have specialized in medicinal herbs, books, and paper. The funds added a front gate, and a roofed veranda in nine sections.[64]

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[62] Since the Ming, examination candidates sojourning in the capital were known to offer prayers for better exam results at such temples there. Some reportedly achieved amazingly efficacious result from the patriarch; see Naquin, *Peking*, pp. 193–94.

[63] See Cai Yongqing 蔡永清 "Baiyun guan juanchan bei ji" 白雲觀捐產碑記, in Koyonagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, pp. 145–47. For Peng Yunhui's biog., see Peng Yunzhang 彭蘊章, "Cong xiong bian xiu gong xingzhuang 從兄編修公行狀," in idem, *Gui pu kan cong gao* 歸樸龕叢稿, *j.* 9 (printed in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, *ji bu* 集部, *bieji lei* 別集類 [Shanghai: Guji chuban she, 1995–99], vol. 1518, pp. 640–42, and Ruan Yuan, "Hanlin yuan bianxiu Peng Yuanfeng mu zhi ming" 翰林院編修彭遠峰墓誌銘, in idem, *Yan jing shi er ji* 揅經室二集, *j. 6* (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* edn., vol. 1479), p. 144. For a biography of Miao, see Qian Yiji, "Chaoyi dafu qian Jiangsu Xuzhou fu zhifu Miao jun mu zhi ming" 朝議大夫前江蘇徐州府知府繆君墓誌銘, in idem, *Kan shi zhai jishi xu gao* 衎石齋記事續稿, *j.* 9 (*Xuxiu Siku* edn., vol. 1509), pp. 234–35.

Sixteen years later, in the fall of 1867, the shrine underwent an even larger expansion. By this time, it had grown in popularity, with patronage from both empress-dowagers of the Qing court. Empresses-dowager Ci'an 慈安 and Cixi 慈禧 had dispatched eunuch superintendents to offer silk draperies (*pan* 旛) to the statue of patriarch Lü Dongbin at the shrine.[65] Among other imperial devotees, the households of prince Yi of the First Blood 怡親王 and prince Zhong of the Second Blood 鐘郡王 contributed to the expansion project. Indeed, the donor list for the 1867 expansion contained a total of more than 440, of which, 239 were individuals, 146 were institutions like small business (*hao* 號), voluntary and philanthropic associations (*tang* 堂) or their representatives, and 55 were families and households (*fu zhai* 府宅). Among the individual donors, many were prominent high-ranking court officials. The governor of Shanxi, Qiao Songnian 喬松年 (*z.* Jianhou 健侯, *h.* Hechai 鶴儕, 1815–1875), for example, gave twenty taels of silver.[66] Significantly, thirty-three, or nearly fourteen percent of the individual donors were women who gave money under their natal family names. Since women were often the main source of family donations to temples, the actual percentage of female contributions for the 1867 expansion of the Shrine of Patriarch Lü would have to be greater. While it is impossible to know exactly how many of the 1867 donors were actually Manchu and Hanjun bannermen, their involvement

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[64] Epigraphic materials attest to the existence of centers of worship in the western and southwestern quarters of the city, and in the western and northeastern suburbs of the capital. The most prominent of Lü temples was the Shrine to Patriarch Lü (Lüzu ci 呂祖祠); it originated during Ming, and was located in the Liulichang area in the southwestern section of the capital; see Wu Bin 吳彬, "Lüzu ci" 呂祖祠 (1850), and Meng Zhicai 孟至才, "Chongxiu Lüzu ci ji" 重修呂祖祠記 (1867), in *BTSK*, vols. 81, p. 199, and vol. 83, p. 120. For other devotional centers, see Zhang Jinbang 張金榜, "Lüzu ge bei" 呂祖閣碑 (1828), *BTSK*, vol. 79, p. 130; Ci Yun 慈雲, "Lüzu sheng hui bei" 呂祖聖會碑 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 132; anon., "Lü Chunyang ji bi ke shi" 呂純陽乩筆刻石 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 115; and anon., "Chong xiu San Sheng Guan bei ji" 重修三聖觀碑記 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 123.

[65] See Meng, "Chongxiu Lüzu ci ji," in *BTSK*, vol. 83, p. 120. See also Naquin, *Peking*, p. 348.

[66] For Qiao's life and career, see the entry in *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi* edn., vol. 12), p. 1389.

in the cult of the Daoist patriarch was suggestively reflected by several prominent family donors. The construction of a scriptorium at the shrine in 1867 was inspired by a gift of the Daoist Canon from the descendants of the princedom of Yi 怡親王府. Additionally, the household of prince Zhong 鐘郡王府 gave ten taels of silver. So did the Manchu households of princes Yi 怡宅 and Bao 寶宅.[67]

Like many of their fellow banner people, the Wanyans, especially Linqing and his parents, were devotees of the Lü Dongbin cult. Their belief in the patriarch and involvement in the cult's activities were an integral part of the Wanyans family life. At various junctures, the Wanyans would turn to the Daoist patriarch for counsel and help in making important decisions.

The summer of 1816, when Linqing befriended Drunken Zither in Jinan, was an eventful time in his life. His visit to his parents in Shandong came at a time of great prospects in his official career, on one hand, and tragic personal losses, on the other. As mentioned, he had alreadly served in the prestigious Inner Cabinet as a Hanlin scholar and the Academy of History. Five years later in 1814, he was promoted to serve as a secretary in the Board of War. Linqing was on a good roll. But these successes were darkened by two tragic losses. First, his bride, lady Guaerjia, whom he married in 1809, died in the fall of 1814. Then two years later, his second wife, lady Shushu Jueluo 書書覺羅, died merely two months into their marriage, in summer of 1816. Linqing was devastated. He attributed both of the losses to an incompatibility in destiny and physiognomy 命相不符 between himself and his deceased wives. During Linqing's stay in Tai'an, many eligible families came to call and sought marriage. Still in grief, Linqing was hesitant. His parents Tinglu and Yun Zhu also found it difficult to make up their mind for their son. As a last resort, they sent Linqing to a Daoist cloister at the famous Botu Spring 趵突泉 outside the western gate of Jinan to offer prayers to patriarch Lü for guidance in the matter.

Linqing recorded in his autobiography decades later that his prayers were answered by the patriarch. The lot that he drew at the cloister carried a lucky prognostication about a match between himself and lady Cheng Mengmei 程孟梅 (1791?–1876), a bride proposed by Yun Zhu. In the early fall of that year, Linqing accompanied his mother to the Chengs' residence in Jinan and presented them with geese and other nuptial gifts. Linqing claimed years afterwards that the marriage was a match made in heaven. According to Linqing, lady Cheng was not only a loving mother to the two sons she bore, but she also turned out to be a dutiful daughter-in-law and an acute literary editor and assistant to Yun Zhu.[68]

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[67] See Meng, "Chongxiu Lüzu ci ji," in *BTSK*, vol. 83, p. 120.

The Wanyans would visit temples in honor of patriarch Lü as they sojourned in various parts of the country. On these occasions, like many of literati and officials, they composed poems to reflect on the meanings and morals surrounding the lore of the Daoist patriarch. These poems afforded a glimpse into the inner thoughts of the Wanyans as they participated in the cult in honor of the Daoist patriarch.

In the summer of 1833, while accompanying Yun Zhu's remains from Kaifeng back to Beijing for burial, Linqing and his eldest son Chongshi 崇實 (*z.* Zihua, *h.* Pushan 樸山, and Ti-an 惕盦, 1820–1876) made a stop at the famed Shrine of the Scholar Lu 盧生祠 in Handan 邯鄲, Zhili. The shrine there commemorated the legendary encounter between patriarch Lü and an aspiring office candidate named scholar Lu that was supposed to have taken place late in Tang times. Much popularized in romances, Yuan drama, and later in the Qing-era Peking opera, the legend tells of a Daoist immortal, who brought epiphany to scholar Lu concerning the vanity of office and the transience of life, while the latter was dozing away in a dream, with his pot of yellow millet simmering over the stove in a roadside inn at Handan. The temple at Handan was first built during the Northern Song period and underwent at least two major renovations and expansions in 1668 and 1789. Composed of several major halls and shrines honoring the two Daoist patriarchs Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, as well as the legendary scholar Lu and other deities, the Handan Shrine attracted literati visitors, merchants, and commoners from the Song down to the Qing. Many visitors left poems at the temple, reflecting on the legendary encounter and the lesson of enlightenment taught by the patriarch.[69]

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[68] See Wanyan Linqing, "Ci yun xun meng" 慈雲尋夢, in *HX 1*, p. 5b.

[69] The temple ground at Handan, as I noticed in the summer of 2005, still has many steles inscribed with poems and epigrams composed by Ming and Qing literati. A total of 215 poems have been collected into a modern compendium, of which a majority (156) are of Ming and Qing dates. Two short verses composed by Linqing on a visit in 1842, around the time when he was removed from office (as discussed, above), are included; see Liang Chen 梁辰 and Zhang Zhidong 張志東, *Huangliang meng shi ci jing xuan* 黃粱夢詩詞精選 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban she, 1999), p. 92.

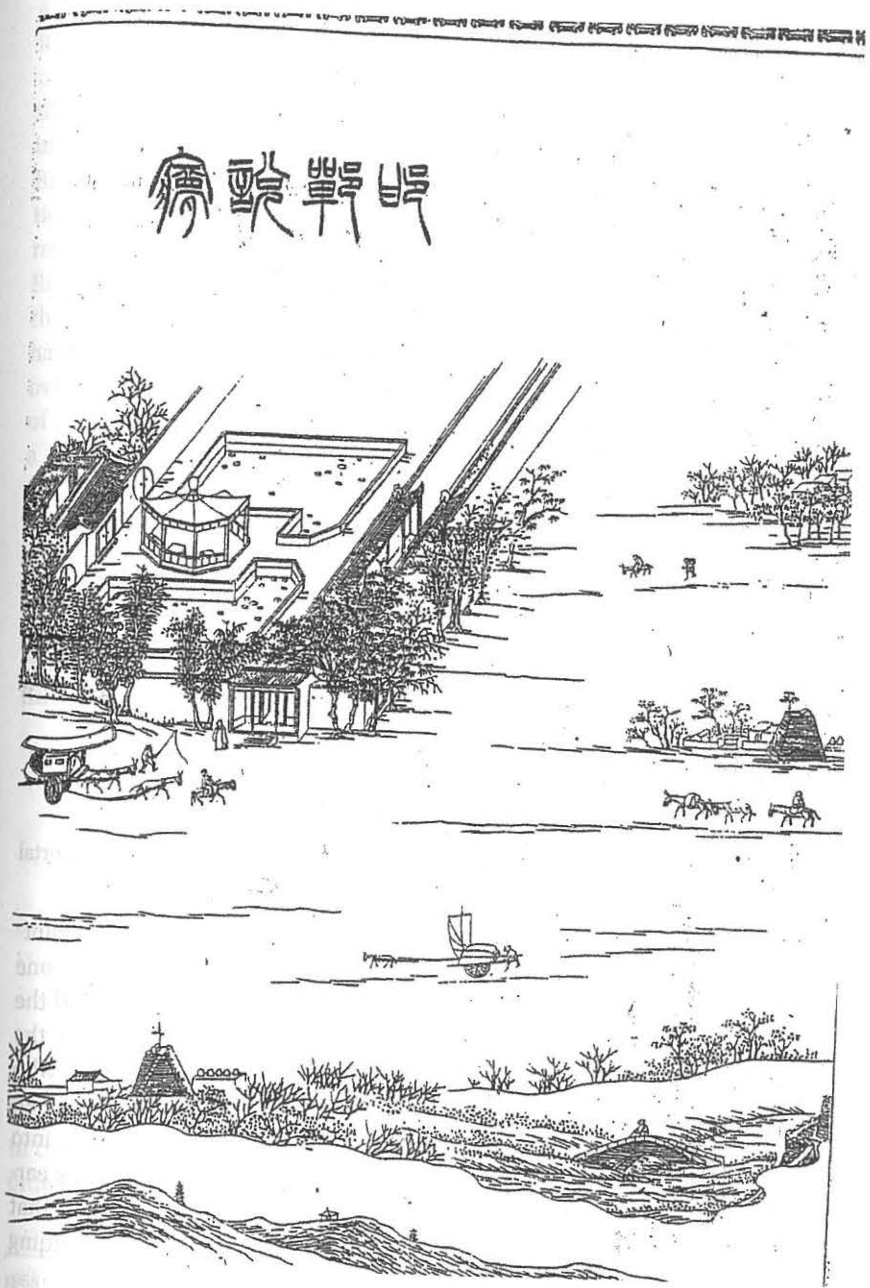

Figure 5. Interpreting the Dream at Handan "Handan shuo meng" 邯鄲說夢; *HX* 3, p. 78a.

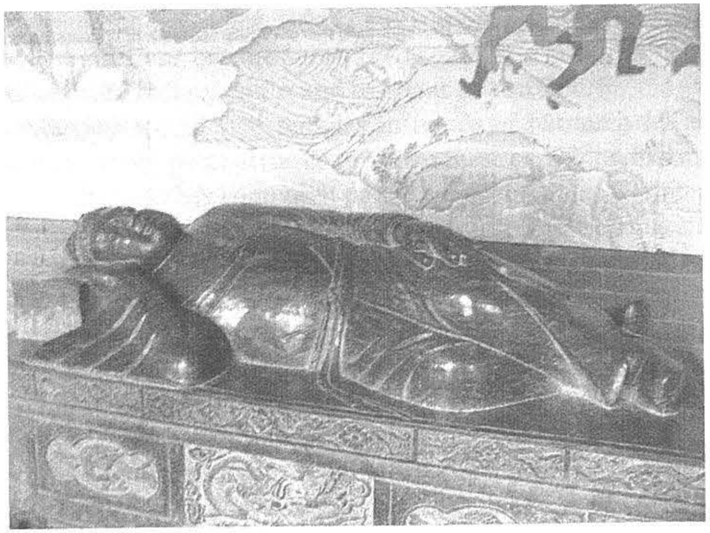

Figure 6. Carved Statue of Scholar Lu in Dream
Digital photo taken at Huangliang meng 黃粱萝 in Handan, China, summer 2005.

During their visit to the temple, Linqing encouraged Chongshi to compose a poem. The fourteen-sui Chongshi penned a poem on the wall, showing his understanding of the moral of the tale:

功名富貴總煙雲	Feats, fame and fortune are but passing clouds;
一枕能教萬事全	A dream on a pillow completes the epiphany.
畢竟痴人有痴福	Even a dreaming fool can have a fool's luck:
夢爲將相醒爲仙	A minister or general in dream becomes an immortal when awake.

At the time of the visit to the shrine, Linqing had learned about his appointment as the director-general in charge of the Southern River Works, one of the highest positions in the realm. The prospect of high office, and the accompanying fame and fortune must have been exhilarating. Yet the excitement of the occasion was tempered by the loss of his mother, who exerted a dominant influence in his upbringing and his official career. Stopping at Handan, a town that straddled the major thoroughfare into and out of the capital, was not routine for Linqing and his son. Years earlier, Yun Zhu left a poem as she traveled through Handan, a poem that Linqing would have read and remembered.[70] Now, the homage Linqing and Chongshi rendered there was as much a tribute to a good mother as it was to an exemplary follower of the Daoist immortal.

A decade later, Linqing would experience a career setback and end up thinking about the philosophical lesson that his son had drawn concerning the legend of the Yellow Millet dream. In 1842, a section of the Yellow River dike under Linqing's watch breached, causing loss of life and destruction in the adjacent regions. Soon after, Linqing received the imperial rescript stripping him of his post as the director-general of the Southern River Works. Considering his good service record and past achievements, the Daoguang emperor spared him the humiliation of being arrested and hauled to the capital in shackles. At the nadir of his career, Linqing turned over the official seal to his successor at the end of that year and moved out of the director-general's luxurious mansion to a small private studio, with a garden named "The Boat of Bamboo Rain 竹雨舫." There, while waiting for further instructions from the court, Linqing divided his time between recuperating from a chronic pain in his side, and reflecting on the ups and downs of his official career. In a poem written at this time, Linqing invoked the Yellow Millet dream to console himself and to regain a sense of detachment and optimism. He was a commoner, freed at last of all the concerns and anxieties of a court official. He mused about this in a poem titled "Farewell to the Garden of Tranquil Peace 別清晏園":

爲辭傳舍拜花神	Before leaving the mansion, I pay homage to the goddess of flowers,
又向西園步一巡	And take yet another stroll around the West Garden.
清晏有圖仍屬我	The tranquil Peace is still mine, though in a painting;
韶華隨運自成春	With cycles of transformation, the good times return with spring.
詩吟紅豆今多暇	Now with leisure at hand I sound out rhymes about the Red Bean;
夢醒黃粱莫當真	Awake from the Yellow Millet dream, surely I will not treat it all as real.
聖主恩深容置散	The profound grace of my sagely lord has put me free and at large;
還鄉好作太平民	Homeward bound, I long to be a commoner at ease.[71]

In the summer of 1843, after a respite at home in the capital, Linqing was ordered back to Henan to assist Yellow River dike consolidation work. On his journey to Kaifeng, Linqing stopped in Handan, as he had a decade earlier. There he revisited the temple in honor of patriarch Lü and composed two poems that mused over the meanings of the dream, before resuming his travel south. At the temple, Linqing may have felt something similar to scholar Lu's dream. Like the scholar, Linqing had attained one of the highest offices in the realm only to be dismissed in disgrace. But now he was given another special assignment by the throne. The rollercoaster ride of ups and downs prompted him to compose these thoughtful lines:

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[70] Yun Zhu's poem was undated, but probably before 1814; see the date of the preface by Gao E. 高鶚 (1738–1815) to her *Hongxiang guan shi cao* 紅香館詩草 (Wujing: Sheyuan, 1868), pp. 3a–b. She must have composed it on a journey to or from the Wanyans' registered home-place in the capital. Entitled "On my way to Handan 邯鄲道中, she wrote: "淡月疏星欲曉天, 邯鄲道上促歸鞭. / 黃粱仙蹟今何在, 賸得千秋一夢傳."

[71] See "Zhu fang xi ying" 竹舫息影, in *HX* 3, pp. 25b–26b.

十年不走邯鄲道	For ten years I have not traveled Handan's highways,
今日重來問古祠	But today I return to the old shrine in haste.
欲喚盧生談夢境	How have I longed to wake up Scholar Lu to talk about the dream!
個中滋味我曾知	For I have gained an insight into its taste.
盧生倚枕笑相答	Reclining on his pillow, Scholar Lu smiled and said to me,
子又何緣入夢來	"Why are you reentering the dream?"
隻爲君恩酬不得	"Because I have not repaid my sovereign's grace,
故教壯志未全灰	I dare not lay all my ambitions to waste."[72]

These lines vividly capture a moment of intense conflict in Linqing, torn between his yearning to be carefree and at large, and his sense of obligations as a *booyi* to his lord. He was, it seems, anxious to share what he had gained from his experiences with scholar Lu, because only the latter would understand him. But on the other hand, as a loyal *booyi* with a history of privilege and trust bestowed by the emperor, and as a high-ranking official at the court, Linqing felt obligated to his duties and to the Daoguang emperor, who had just salvaged his career with this new task of assisting the Yellow River repairs.

In the end, bound by his sense of gratitude and duty toward the emperor, Linqing decided to "reenter" the dream world of officialdom by journeying on to Henan, the place of his new assignment. There, early in 1844, upon completion of the dike reinforcement, Linqing received a positive evaluation. He then took up residence at the Yellow Temple 黄寺 in Kaifeng in order to rest and to recuperate from his chronic condition. In the summer, Linqing suffered another onset of numbness in his limbs and a severe case of constipation. While a prescription prepared by a medical officer relieved him of constipation, the numbness persisted. Doctors were called in, and as part of their therapies, he was told to abstain from certain

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[72] Linqing mused over the meanings of the Yellow Millet dream in these poems; see "Handan shuo meng" 邯鄲說夢, in *HX* 3, pp. 78a–78b.

foods. A gourmet, Linqing found it difficult to follow the doctors' diets. More importantly, Linqing based his resistance to doctors' advice on a well-known medical opinion that dismissed food abstention as irrelevant to the treatment of diseases. Colleagues and friends who were versed in medicine also came with diagnoses and prescriptions. They disagreed and even contradicted one another. After carefully comparing recipes, Linqing chose one. However, he was uncertain about its two primary herbs, the medicinal properties of which would have conflicted with the season 時令不宜. To resolve this, Linqing turned again to patriarch Lü for help. He offered prayers and drew lots. After a colleague deciphered the prognostication on the stick he drew as affirming the two herbs, Linqing felt relieved, and while still at the Yellow Temple in Kaifeng he began to take the recipe in combination with a regimen of massage and acupuncture.[73]

In the first lunar month of 1845, with the new dike completed, Linqing received a promotion as ministerial deputy with fourth rank and was granted leave to travel from Henan back to his home in the capital. In the second month, he received another rescript from the throne promoting him to Grand Minister of Administration for the Kulun 庫倫 region, in eastern Mongolia. The Daoguang emperor also bestowed upon him the title of second-rank imperial bodyguard. The rescript urged him back to Beijing for an audience with the throne before assuming his duties in Kulun.

As he began his journey to the capital in early March of 1845, Linqing did not forget to visit a temple in honor of patriarch Lü located outside the seat of Weihui 衛輝 prefecture, seventy *li* north of the provincial capital. Nearly ten years earlier, when he was a new commissioner of surveillance in Kaifeng, a senior colleague and friend, Tao Shu 陶澍 (*z.* Ziilin 子霖, *h.* Yunting 雲汀, 1779–1839), had renovated the Shrine of Patriarch Lü 呂祖祠.[74] At the time of his visit to the temple, Linqing had only recently recovered from his condition thanks in part to help from the Daoist patriarch. By the time he arrived back in Beijing for the interview with the throne, his spirits had improved greatly. Yet upon seeing that Linqing was still having difficulty with movement in his legs, the Daoguang emperor relieved him of the appointment to Kulun, and granted him leave to rest and recover in the capital. To cope with his illness, Linqing now added quiet-sitting to his daily regimen.

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[73] The herbs were *gui* 桂, or *guizhi* 桂枝, and *fu* 附, or *fuzi* 附子. Both are commonly added to recipes for exterminating cold and wind from the body, both regarded as root-causes of numbness and paralysis (*bu ren* 不仁, *fen bi* 風痺). See *HX* 3, pp. 84a–85a.

[74] For details of Linqing's homage to the Hall, see "Weihui guan jie" 衛輝觀碣, *HX* 3, pp. 91b–92a. The hall was first built in 1684 and housed a rare, massive reclining statue of the patriarch in its main shrine. See Fan Chengdian 范城滇, "Wo de daoshi sheng ya" 我的道士生涯, in *Henan wenshi ziliao* 河南文史資料 79 (2001), pp. 211–24.

The Last Days: Linqing and Quiet-Sitting Practice among the Late-Qing Elite

The practice of quiet-sitting (習靜 *xijing*) had been part of the Chinese elite life since antiquity. But it was during the Ming that the pursuit of this self-cultivation practice became an integral part of literati's intellectual and spiritual life. Borrowing meditative techniques from both the Daoist and the Buddhist traditions, the practice was part of various movements that amalgamated teachings and practices from among Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. During the late-Ming, quiet-sitting was widespread among literati and commoners. The literati, from Lin Zhao-en 林兆恩 (1517–1598) and Gao Lian 高濂 (fl. 16th century), to Yuan Huang 袁黄 (1533–1606), each wrote extensively on the subject and embraced the practice as part of their own individual regimens of health, cultivation, and self-transformation.[75]

During the Qing, quiet-sitting meditation continued as part of self-cultivation regimens among the literati elite. Fu Shan 傅山 (1604–1684), a great polymath in his time, hand-copied and disseminated a text on the subject of Daoist inner alchemic meditation techniques and may have even practiced Daoist inner alchemy himself.[76] By mid-Qing, Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1651–1741), the great scholar and medical compiler, followed the late-Ming precedent in viewing Daoist inner alchemy and other forms of quiet-sitting practice as part of medical healing techniques, appropriate to a variety of illnesses. He incorporated meditative techniques developed by the late-Ming Daoist and medical writer Cao Heng 曹珩 (*z.* Yuanbai 元白, fl. 1620s) into the Qing medical canon *Yibu quanlu* 醫部全錄 section of his enormous compendium *Gu jin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成, which was completed in 1756. Quiet-sitting regimens were also adopted by members of the Taizhou school of Qing neo-Confucianism during late in the Qing.[77]

As a regimen of training for health and transcendence, quiet-sitting also found its way into the life of the Qing banner elite, as they became acculturated to Han ways after the conquest. Later on, the practice became widespread among the Qing court elite. Many adopted it as part of their personal strategies to cope with maladies, as well as regimens for pursuing spirituality. Beginning in his youth, the great scholar and court potentate Wenxiang 文祥 (1818–1876) performed quiet-sitting to control respiratory symptoms.[78]

In the early 1840s, almost concurrent with Linqing's first uses of quiet-sitting for healing, meditative and yogic practices had already become fairly widespread among the banner elite. Practice manuals circulated among bannermen, promoting a variety of yogic regimens known as "*tiao qi dao yin* 調氣導引," which means "regulating and channeling the flow of *qi*." It was said to be not only good for maintaining health and vigor, but also a sound measure against a perceived moral decay among the banner elite, which increasingly indulged in the unhealthy pursuits of gambling, drinking, opium smoking, and sexual pleasures.

Around 1851, a coterie of the Imperial Household Department officials and imperial medical doctors began to promote a regimen of yogic stretching and breathing. Significantly, the regimen advocated in 1851 was based on a much earlier one attributed to a bannerman by the pen name of Zixin Tanfu 自新坦夫 and already widely popular. Based on this earlier regimen, a group of Qing banner officials and doctors published their own new and revamped practice manual with the title "Illustrations of Regulating the Breath and Refining the Outer Elixir" 調氣煉外丹圖. The 1851 text included a set of twenty-two professionally drawn illustrations and calligraphic pieces composed by the sponsors themselves.

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[75] The evolution and transmission of Lin Zhaoen's meditative method is seen in his *Linzi quanji* 林子全書 (rpt. Jinan: Qilu chuban she, 1997). For recent studies of Lin, see Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1980), and Kenneth Dean, *The Lord of Three in One: The Spread of a Cult in Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1998). The self-cultivation methods that Gao Lian advocated can be found in his famous 1591 *Zun sheng ba jian* 遵生八箋 (rpt. Chengdu: Bashu chuban she, 1999). For an annotated study of Gao Lian, see Yao Weijun 姚偉鈞 1999, *Tiaoshe jie du* 調攝解讀 (Liuzhou: Guangxi minzhu chuban she, 1999). Yuan Huang was well known among Ming and Qing literati mostly for his quiet-sitting method; see Yuan Huang, *She sheng san yao* 攝生三要 (1591), in Ding Fubao 丁福保, ed., *Dao zang jing hua lu* 道藏精華錄 (rpt. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chuban she, 1989). For an analysis of Yuan Huang's self-cultivation methods, see Charlotte Furth, *A Flowering Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1999), pp. 196–200.

[76] See Fu Shan 傅山, *Danting zhenren chuandao miji* 丹亭真人傳道密集, in Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1917–1983?), comp., *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華, ser. 13, vol. 5 (rpt. Taipei: Ziyou chuban she, 1976). Xiao Tianshi, the editor and publisher of the text, ascertained that Fu Shan had carefully studied and hand-copied this text.

[77] Liu Houzhi 劉厚滋, "Zhang Shiqin yu Taigu xuepai" 張石琴與太谷學派, *Furen xuezhi* 輔仁學誌 9 (1940), pp. 81–124.

[78] Wen Xiang revealed that he had practiced quiet-sitting to cope with a respiratory condition; Wen Xiang 文祥, *Wen Wenzhong gong zi ding nianpu* 文文忠公自訂年譜 (1882), in *Nianpu congshu* 年譜叢書 (rpt. Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), vol. 41.

The leader of the group was Wang Shoumin 王壽名 (*z.* Yingshan 映山, fl. 1851), who was a clerk probably of Hanjun extraction and affiliated with the Imperial Household Department. According to his own account, Wang lost his parents in childhood and did not receive the regular classical education that would prepare him for the civil service examination. Yet Wang was able to become a warehouse clerk 庫藏 at sixteen, probably because of his special status as a *booyi* in the Department. After five years there, he resigned and intended to live out the rest of his life on the savings he earned from the post. Advised by his friends that he would soon run out of his savings, Wang used the money to procure a lucrative position with the Directorate General of Grain Transport 漕運總督. Wang served as the controller in charge of the Southern Grain Transport Office in Suzhou 宿州, Anhui, for over a decade before retiring again.

While Wang remarked that his retirement was partly motivated by the constant stress he experienced from work, it was perhaps in no small measure hastened by either the actual or feared deleterious effects of the corrupting debauchery that Wang saw among his fellow bannermen. Indeed, the first illustration of the 1851 set that Wang commissioned paints a vivid picture of what Wang and his fellow bannermen were concerned about.

The illustration shows an emaciated old bannerman reclining among the trappings of carnal pleasure. A small table was heaped with a plate of fine foods, a wine jug and cups, a candle, and most notably an opium pipe. On the couch and half-hidden by the man was a stringed instrument, probably a *pipa* 琵琶. With one of his shoes on and the other dropped to a small step bench in front of the couch, the sickly man hunched forward, propped by a pillow. Over his tucked-in lap, he has just unfurled a hand-scroll painting of pornographic scenes. Now, half-slouched and his neck straining, he stared blankly ahead, transfixed and lost in his lingering lustful thought over the lurid scenes in the hand-scroll.

The presence of the opium pipe pointed strongly to widespread opium consumption among the banner elite. A symbol of moral corruption and bodily ruin, opium had entered the consciousness of the Qing bannermen like Wang and his cohorts, who had come to regard opium smoking as a debauchery that enervated the banner people, as had sexual indulgence, drinking, and carousing in the entertainment quarters. There already were repeated opium bans issued by the Qing court before 1839, and in this light, Wang's yogic and meditative regimen, and the manual published in 1851, reflected awareness of both its physical and moral toll on the banner

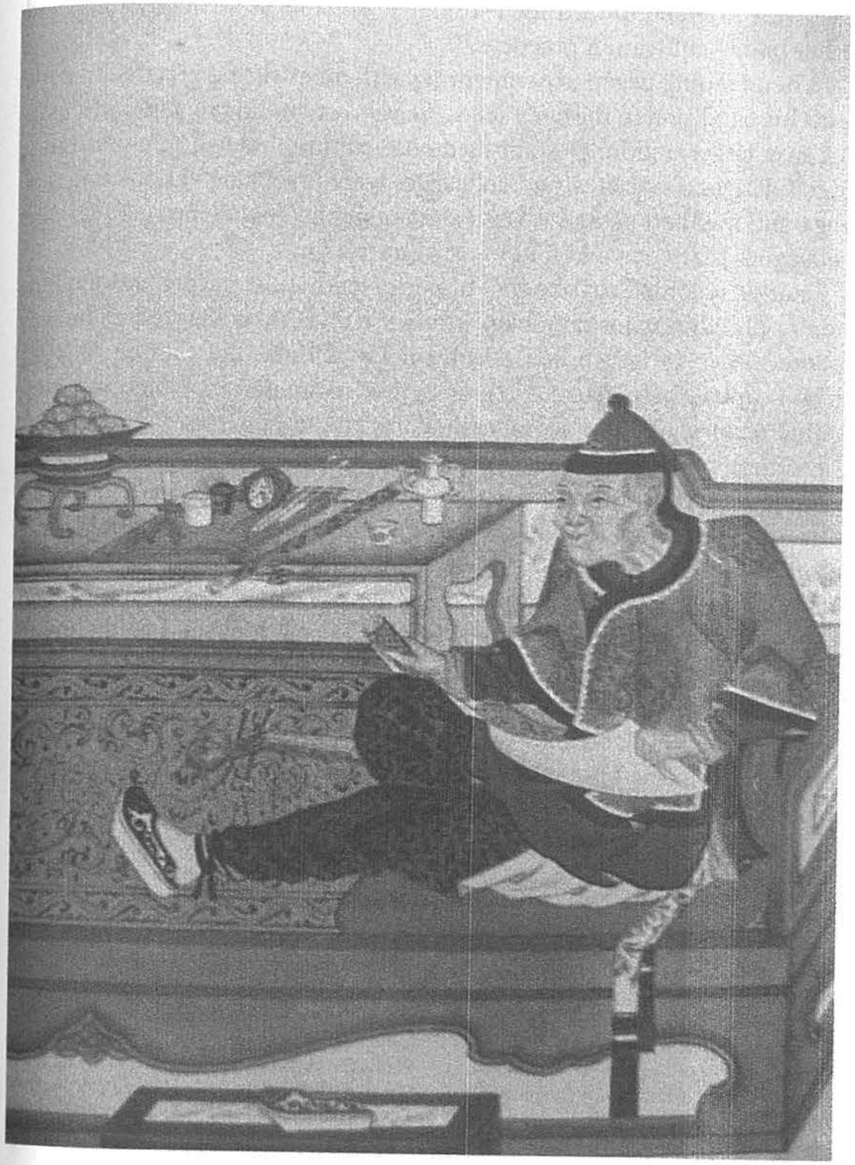

Figure 7. A Debauched Bannerman
"Illustrations for Regulating Breath to Refine the Elixir" (Tiaoqi lian waidan tu shi 調氣煉外丹圖式), in Li, *Zhongguo gudai yishi tulu* (cited at n. 79, below), p. 111.

people. The meditative and yogic regimen was thus an individual effort by Wang and his associates at reasserting the banner values and traditions that were oriented toward such strenuous pursuits as archery, riding, and other bodily cultivation practices.[79]

When Linqing began experimenting with quiet-sitting practice to cope with his condition in the early 1840s, he was responding to and participating in a larger and long-established elite culture. Indeed, many of Linqing's relatives, associates, and colleagues were practicing various forms of yoga and meditation, and it was from among his practicing relatives and colleagues that he would find his own instructor.

Linqing recorded that he first began to learn quiet-sitting and meditation in 1843 during his numbness attack. Then, early in 1845, when he was granted leave to return home to his beloved Half-Acre Garden 半畝園 in the capital, he pursued these as part of recuperation, which involved herbal recipes, physical activities, and, breathing exercises.[80] Throughout the summer and fall of 1845, accompanied by Chongshi and Chonghou, Linqing would journey into mountains north of the capital by either horse-drawn cart or shoulder-borne carriage sedan. While taking in the scenic beauty of the suburban mountains and enjoying the serenity of the Buddhist and Daoist temples, Linqing also hoped to find monks and recluses living in the mountains who would teach him self-healing meditative and yogic techniques, or even offer a cure.[81]

One such trip took him to the Coiled Mount (Pan shan 盤山), east of the capital, a place known for scenic beauty and a long tradition of recluses. From the base to the peak, the mountain was distinguished by three zones. The foothills were dotted with springs and brooks. The midsection was dominated by rocks and crags; while the mountain top was

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[79] Further circumstantial evidence of the wide practice of quiet-sitting among the Qing banner elite is a color painting or illustration of the meditative body, "An Illustration of the Inner Scape" 內景圖 (not yet precisely dated), produced by the imperial Ruyi Art Studio 如意館, which was affiliated with the Imperial Household Department. See Li Jingwei 李經緯, comp., *Zhongguo gudai yishi tulu* 中國古代醫史圖錄 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chuban she, 1992), p. 85. For a history of the dissemination of the illustration in the late-imperial era, see Catherine Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain: Le Xiuzhen tu* (Paris: Guy Tredaniel Editeur, 1994). For a recent study of the distribution of the illustration during the late-19th c., see Goossaert, "Taoists of Peking," pp. 186, and 242–43, and Liu, "Visualizing Perfection," pp. 92–95.

[80] Half-acre Garden was home for the Wanyans in the capital at this time. For its history, see Wanyan Linqing, "Ban mu ying yuan" 半畝營園, in *HX* 3, pp. 25b–26b, and Manshu Zhenjun 曼殊震鈞, *Tianzi ou wen* 天咫偶聞 (n.p.: Gan tang zhuan she, 1907), *j*. 3, pp. 26a–27b.

[81] See "Tiancheng fan yi" 天成訪醫, in *HX*, *j*. 3, pp. 99a–100a.

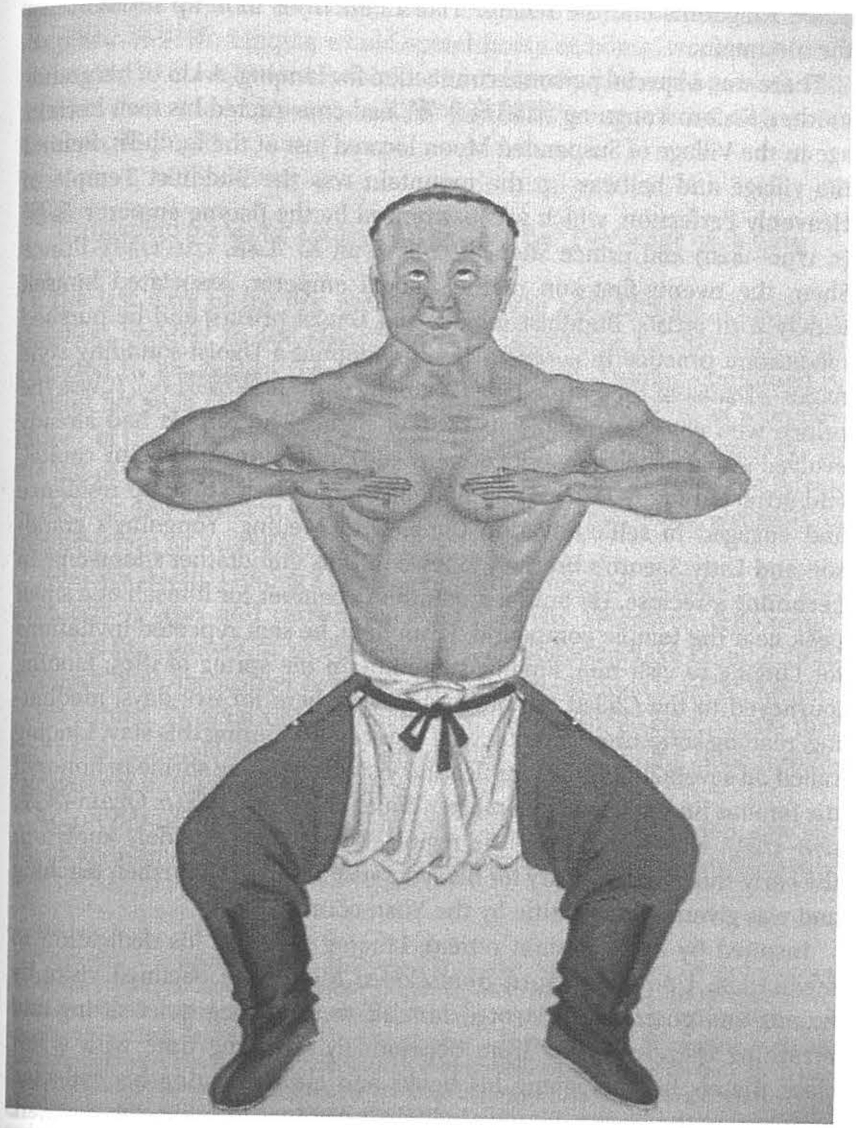

Figure 8. A Bannerman at Breathing Practice
"Illustrations for Regulating Breath to Refine the Elixir" (Tiaoqi lian waidan tu 調氣煉外丹圖) in Li, *Zhongguo gudai yishi tulu* (cited at n. 79, below), p. 123.

completely covered by pine forests. Besides its unusual topography, the mountain was known for its ancient hermits and monasteries. During the Three Kingdoms era, the recluse Tian Chou 田疇 took up residence in the mountain.

There was a special personal connection for Linqing. A kin of his grandmother, Socoro Yongning 索綽絡永寧, had constructed his own hermitage in the Village of Suspended Moon located just at the foothills. Behind the village and halfway up the mountain was the Buddhist Temple of Heavenly Perfection, which was patronized by the Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶 (r. 1796–1820) and prince Shen 慎親王 (Yun Xi 允禧, 1711–1758). Prince Shen, the twenty-first son of the Kangxi emperor, associated himself widely with artists, Buddhist monks, and Daoist priests, and he pursued meditation practice in earnest. He also adopted a Daoist-sounding style name—Daoist of the Purple Jade (Zhiqiong daoren 紫瓊道人). It was the prince who gave the temple its present name. The temple had already evolved into a major sanctuary of hermetic cultivation outside the capital, and attracted many Daoists and Buddhist monks, who took up residence and engaged in self-cultivation there. Lord Meiling, Yongning's grandson and Lady Socoro's brother, followed in his grandfather's footsteps in becoming a recluse. He built a meditation chamber for himself at a small peak near the temple compound. From here, he sent repeated invitations for Linging to visit him. Finally, sometime in the spring of 1845, Linqing journeyed to the Coiled Mount, and stayed there for five days, meditating, reading scriptures, and enjoying the scenery. During this stay, Linqing called on several Buddhist temples and visited the stone shrine in honor of the famous Jin-era Quanzhen master Wang Zhijin 王志謹 (*h.* Qiyun 棲雲, 1178–1263), who hailed from the region. Wang became widely known in the early-thirteenth century for his syncretist brand of Quanzhen teaching and was given honorary title by the Yuan court.[82]

Inspired by his mountain retreat, Linqing renewed his dedication to meditation. Upon his return from Coiled Mount, he declined visits by friends and guests, and devoted himself to practicing quiet-sitting and breathing exercise. Aside from occasionally spending time with a few close friends in cataloguing his books and authenticating his collected paintings at the library, Linqing held daily sessions to refine the regimen. His teacher at this time in these therapies was Li Yunqu 李雲衢, who was a junior colleague and a friend. When Linqing befriended him, Li was serving as a battalion commander (*shou bei* 守備) in the Qing forces stationed at the capital. Impressed with Li's skills in meditation and yogic exercises 導引術, Linqing would spend hours at home, working with Li and trying to hone his own practice. Concurrently, he would consult with medical doctors and friends, until his death in the summer of 1846, at his home in Beijing.[83]

Continuing the Bond: Linqing's Sons and their Patronage of Daoism

To the last days of his life, even on his death bed, Linqing remained a steadfast believer in the Quanzhen faith. According to Chongshi, who attended to his care in their home in the capital, Linqing continued to remind his sons of his unfinished project—the compilation of a lineage history of the early Quanzhen masters at the White Cloud Monastery: "In the fall of 1845 when he was recuperating from illness at home, he talked to us with great passion and sincerity about the project, and regarded its incompletion as his regret...."[84]

After his death, Linqing's Quanzhen piety continued to inspire his two sons, whose lives and careers followed his own. Moreover, they would carry out the completion of the Quanzhen compilation. Like Linqing, both Chongshi and his brother became patrons to the White Cloud Monastery in the capital. They participated in the Daoist-influenced elite culture that had been so much part of their father's life, while pursuing their respective careers in the Qing officialdom.

According to his own autobiography, Chongshi, the elder son, saw his life as containing the same sort of divine intervention and extraordinary encounter that informed Linqing's and his grandmother Yun Zhu's. Like his grandmother, Chongshi's birth was also said to have been associated with a propitious dream. Chongshi wrote that his grandmother dreamed of being visited by the Monk of the Eastern Marchmont 東嶽頭陀 in the company of her deceased husband, Tinglu. Upon waking, she was informed by her servants that her grandson was just born.

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[82] See *HX* 3, pp. 99b–100a. For Wang's life and career, see Lun Zhihuan 論志煥, *Panshan Qiyun Wang Zhenren yu lu* 盤山棲雲王真人語録, in *DZ*, vol. 23, pp. 718–32.

[83] See *HX*, *j*. 3, pp. 108a–9a. It is interesting to note that Chongshi seemed dubious about the efficacy of Linqing's pursuit of breathing and meditative regimens. He reported that Linqing died of a complication resulting from a carbuncle in the side and that its treatment severely depleted the *qi* and blood vital energies 氣血兩虧, leading to death. He also identified two factors in his father's therapeutic strategy as ultimately fatal: one was excessive *jinsheng*, a *qi*-nourishing, yet warming ingredient which could result in the excessive heat buildup in the body often leading to carbuncles and open sores in the body, and the other was his "failure to properly conform to the method or practice of circulating the *qi* 運氣之工未甚合法," "which aggravated the outbreak of the carbuncle, resulting to the loss of the precious vital energies. See also Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu" 惕盦年譜, in *Nianpu congshu*, pp. 38–39.

[84] See the preface by Chongshi in Chongshi and Meng Zhicai, "Baiyun xian biao" 白雲仙表 (1847), rpt. in Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al., *Zang wai dao shu* 藏外道書 (Chengdu: Bashu chuban she, 1992–94), vol. 31, pp. 373–74.

Just as patriarch Lü figured prominently in Linqing's life, Chongshi saw Hua Tuo 華陀, a healing god, as a central deity in his life, addressing the latter as "patriarch-teacher 祖師," a salutation suggestive of Chongshi's devotion to the deity. As early as the late-Han period, Hua Tuo had been linked to the popular health and gymnastic regimen known as "Wu qin xi 五禽戲."[85] Many healing recipes also were associated with Hua.[86] By the late-Qing, this legendary medical healer had achieved the status of popular deity and was revered by both Daoists and lay people. By 1844, a temple in honor of Hua Tuo, now patriarch Hua, was completed in the White Cloud Monastery, where he could be revered as a special healer, along with another Daoist deity.[87]

Chongshi's devotion to the Daoist healing deity sprang from his early childhood experience of illness. Once, on a visit to his maternal grand-

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[85] The regimen was supposedly transmitted by Hua Tuo to Wu Pu 吳普 in about the third century; see *Taishang Laojun yang sheng jue* 太上老君養生訣, in *Dz*, vol. 18, pp. 411–13. For its integration into the Daoist self-cultivation repertoire oi Song times, see Zhang Junfang 張君房, *Yun ji qi qian* 雲笈七籤, *j.* 32, in *Dz*, vol. 22, pp. 234–36. For the regimen during Ming and Qing, see Cao Wuji 曹無極, *Wan shou xian shu* 萬壽仙書 (rpt. Changsha: Yuelu shu she, 1994), and Xi Yukang 席裕康, *Hua Tuo wu qin wu gong fa tu shuo* 華陀五禽舞功法圖說, in idem, *Nei wai gong tu shuo ji yao* 內外功圖說輯要 (rpt. Taipei: Ziyou chuban she, 1957), pp. 183–95.

[86] Many medicinal recipes and therapies have been attributed to Hua Tuo since the Tang period. See anon., *Hua Tuo shen yi mi zhuan* 華陀神醫秘傳 with annotations purportedly by Sun Simiao 孫思邈 and Xu Dachun 徐大椿 (rpt. Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chuban she, 1982), which lists hundreds of recipes attributed to Hua; and Bo Heting 柏鶴亭, *Shenxian jishi liang fang* 神仙濟世良方 (1797; rpt. Beijing: Zhongyi guji chuban she, 1988), who listed a total of 27 recipes attributed to the deity.

[87] The temple did not seem to exist before 1844. It was constructed in the 7th lun. mo. of that year with donations from Wang Hongli 王洪禮, a long-time devotee of the patriarch. As suggested by its name in 1797, Huazu zhenjun Taiyi dijun dian 華祖真君太乙帝君殿, it was constructed to honor two deities: Patriarch Hua and Taiyi dijun 太乙帝君, another major healing deity. But by the early-20th c., patriarch Hua's power and appeal seemed to have eclipsed that of the lord Taiyi, since the temple came to be known exclusively as "Huazu dian 華祖殿." This was partly reflected in the way Koyanagi recorded the name of the temple in his 1934 survey of the monastery. See both the inserted map of the monastery, "Baiyun guan pingmian tu" 白雲觀平面圖, and anon., "Zhenjun xiang huo jie" 真君香火碣, in Koyonagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, p. 153. See also Pierre Marsone, "Le Baiyun Guan de Pekin: Epigraphie et histoire," *Sanjiao wenxian*, 3 (1999), p. 101.

mother, Chongshi developed life-threatening smallpox, with blisters on the neck. At the time only three year old, he was cared for by his wet nurse. Exhausted, the wet nurse felt asleep. In a dream, she reported that she was visited by a Daoist master with a white beard dressed in a plumed red cape. Wielding his sword, the Daoist sliced at the two scabbed blisters on both sides of Chongshi's throat. Startled, the wet nurse woke to discover to her relief that the pus had seeped out, a sign of recovery. The wet nurse gratefully reported to Yunzhu that the visiting Daoist immortal in her dream had announced that he resided at a temple in the neighborhood. Curious, Yunzhu went to the neighborhood temple called the Shrine of the Duo-Lords Guan (Shuang Guan miao 雙關廟) to check.[88] Sure enough, according to Chongshi, the statuette of patriarch Hua was worshipped in the east wing of the shrine. Decades later, Chongshi also said that ever since the incident, his mother lady Cheng became a dutiful devotee of the Daoist patriarch.[89]

By the time he was ten, Chongshi experienced another serious bout with illness. He came down with a persistent fever, later recalling that as the doctors could not find ways to lower his heat, he went into fever shock. With barely a breath left, Chongshi mouthed to his wet nurse that he smelled the fragrance of hawthorn fruit 紅果 and desired a bite. At this, his grandmother Yun Zhu immediately sent servants out to buy it. But none of them could find any in the market because it was simply not the season, and the new crop was still yet to ripen. The next morning, as Chongshi's wet nurse prayed desperately for magic, she suddenly spotted a big red shiny hawthorn fruit on the table. Convinced that it was a godsent elixir, Yun Zhu offered it to Chongshi, against the doctors' advice:

> The doctors say that with your illness, you must stay away from raw and cold food. So you really should not eat this fruit. But since you have smelt its fragrance in advance, maybe it can save your life.

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[88] Being of the elite Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner, the Wanyans resided in the northeast quarter. But the exact location of the shrine remains a mystery to me: "Shuang Guan miao" seems to have been an abbreviated referent for "Shuang Guandi miao 雙關帝廟." A concordance based on Ming and Qing sources identifies at least two shrines with such names, but neither was in the northeastern quarter where the Wanyans resided for centuries; see Xu, *Beiping miao, j.* 1, p. 55, and *j.* 2, p. 103. It seems that such shrines typically contained two images of the martial sage Guan Yu 關羽 for joint worship. See Wu Chenyuan 吳宸元, *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識略, *j.* 8 (rpt. Beijing: Beijing guji chuban she, 1983), p. 142; also Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Ri xia jiu wen kao* 日下舊聞考, *j.* 52 (rpt. Beijing: Beijing guji chuban she, 1981), p. 831.

[89] See Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu," pp. 2–3.

Chongshi felt an immediate healing effect of the fruit after eating it. He claimed that the heat from the fruit reached down to the lower cinnabar field 丹田 in his abdomen. Afterwards he fell into a deep slumber. At midnight when he woke up, he felt some slight perspiration and a sharp appetite for food, which had eluded him for half a year. In days, he was able to stand and walk around. At the time, Linqing had to rush back to his official duties due to the seasonal flood warnings along the Yellow River. But upon learning of his son's speedy recovery, Linqing quickly consulted with a few of his staff who were adept at séance, wanting to know the identity of the deity.[90] They concluded that the red hawthorn fruit was an immortal's pill 仙丹, bestowed by none other than patriarch Hua Tuo.[91]

In adult life, Chongshi excelled in his official career. Having achieved the *jinshi* degree and being gifted in literature, Chongshi was selected as a Hanlin Academy academician in 1850. In the following years, he quickly rose through the ranks of officialdom and served in a host of high important positions: the military commandant for the Mongol Bordered White Banner 蒙古鑲白旗都統, the president of the Board of Punishment 刑部尚書 in 1873, the deputy proctor oi the Metropolitan Examination 會試副主考 in 1874, and concurrently the general commandant of Shengjing 盛京將軍 in 1875. When he died in 1876, Chongshi was bestowed the posthumous title of "Diligent Scholar (*wen qin* 文勤)" by emperor Guangxu 光緒 (1875–1909), extraordinary recognition of dedicated service and loyalty to the court.[92]

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[90] Séance, or spirit-writing, was widespread among the Qing elite, who often held sessions for prognostication, divination, and simply fun. For the practice and culture of séance in traditional China, see Xu Dishan 許地山, *Fuji mixin di yanjiu* 扶乩迷信底研究 (Changsha: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1941). See also David Jordan and Daniel Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1986). For more recent studies of spirit-writing practices, especially in Taiwan, see Philip Clart, "Confucius and the Mediums: Is There a 'Popular Confucianism'?" *TP* 89.1–3 (2003), pp. 1–38, Wang Zhiyu 王志宇, *Taiwan de Enzhu gong xinyang, Ruzong shejiao yu fei luan quan hua* 臺灣的恩主公信仰儒教神宗與飛鸞勸化 (Taipei: Wenjin chuban she, 1997), and Wang Jianchuan 王見川 and Li Shiwei 李世偉, *Taiwan de simiao yu zhaitang* 臺灣的寺廟與齋堂 (Taipei: Boyang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2004).

[91] See Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu," pp. 9–10.

[92] For Chongshi's life and career, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 211–12. See also the Guangxu emperor's eulogy and epitaph for Chongshi, "Zeng taizi shaobao yuanren Xingbu shangshu shu Shangjing jiangjun Chongshi ji wen" 贈太子少保原任刑部尚書署盛京將軍崇實祭文, and "Zeng taizi shaobao yuanren Xingbu shangshu shu Shengjing jiangjun Chongshi bei wen" 贈太子少保原任刑部尚書署盛京將軍崇實碑文, in *BTSK*, vol. 84, pp. 141 and 143. For more on Chongshi's official career, see Qian, *Qingdai zhiguan*, vol. 1, pp. 302–3; 3, pp. 2393–96.

The younger brother, Chonghou 崇厚 (1826–1893) (*z.* Dishan 地山, 1826–1886), had an equally successful career in the Qing court. He obtained his *juren* degree in 1849. From then until 1862, Chonghou held a host of posts from county magistrate, salt transport intendant in 1860, minister of commerce for the Three Ports in 1861, left justice of the Central Appellate Court 大理寺卿, and then deputy president of the Board of War 兵部侍郎 in 1862. In 1876, with Chongshi's death, Chonghou succeeded to become the general commandant of Shengjing and concurrently the governor of Fengtian 奉天 in charge of the political and military affairs of the Manchu homeland. He later led a disastrous mission to Russia, which ended his career. He was sentenced for decapitation after assizes in the aftermath. But the Wanyans' special ties to the throne and their wealth saved his life. After contributing 300,000 taels of silver as military stipend to the state coffer, Chonghou was released from prison in 1884, on the occasion of empress-dowager Cixi's fiftieth birthday. That same year an imperial decree restored Chonghou's titles with a mere demotion in rank. Nine years later, in 1893, he died at the age of sixty-seven.[93]

Like their father, both Chongshi and Chonghou were patrons of Quanzhen Daoism, especially the White Cloud Monastery, and they had close personal ties with the monastery's presiding abbots. Chongshi admired Wang Changyue 王常月 (?–1680), a charismatic lineage master, and Immortal Luo 羅真人 (?–1727), an adept not affiliated with the monastery. Both were held in great esteem by White Cloud Quanzhen priests. Chongshi composed two commemorative essays honoring those masters. Chongshi shared with his father an intense devotion to the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu. Both were particularly fascinated with the lore surrounding patriarch Qiu's famous trek across thousands of miles of desert and mountains to meet the great Genghis Khan. Thus, in the summer of 1850, when he learned that the abbot of White Cloud was trying to have the lore painted, Chongshi enlisted the help of Chen Jian 陳鑑 (*z.* Langzhai, 朗齋, fl. 1840s), a former councilor on Linqing's staff and the illustrator of Linqing's autobiography. The painting commissioned by Chongshi was unusually large and contained many personages and scenes. The patriarch

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[93] According to Enhua, Chonghou wrote and published an autobiography entitled *Hecha zishu nianpu* 鶴槎自述年譜, but I have not been able to locate it. He also authored *Lidai mingchen zhuan jie lu* 歷代名臣傳節錄 and *Shengjing dianzhi bei kao* 盛京典制備考, the latter being extant; see Enhua, *Baqi yiwen*, p. 26a. For Chonghou's biography, see *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi* edn., vol. 12), p. 1419; also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 209–11. See his epitaph in *BTSK*, vol. 89, p. 48.

Qiu, riding in a horse-drawn cart, and his accompanying disciples and guards are placed conspicuously in the center, surrounded by towering snowy mountains peaks and barren deserts. The painting vividly conveys the ardor and hardship of the patriarch's journey across treacherous landscape. It also reflects the depth of Chongshi's admiration for the Quanzhen patriarch.[94]

Like his father, Chongshi fraternized with Daoists. He was a friend of abbot Zhang Yuanxuan 張圓璿 (*z.* Zongxuan 宗璿 and Gengyun 耕雲, *h.* Yunqiao 雲樵, 1812–1887), who presided over the White Cloud Monastery from the 1860s to 1870s.[95] Through abbot Zhang, Chongshi befriended Meng Zhicai (*z.* 豁一, ?–1881) at the Monastery in the fall of 1847. At the time, Meng had just arrived from Shandong to serve as the prior. He brought Daoist texts and scriptures that contained relevant biographical and scriptural material on the early Quanzhen masters. Having learned of Meng's arrival in Beijing, Chongshi was determined to carry out Linqing's dying wish concerning the biographical history of the early Quanzhen masters who had accompanied patriarch Qiu on his journey. Soon Chongshi befriended prior Meng, and they began to work together on the project. By the end of that fall, having consulted the relevant scriptures in *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要, which the prior had brought to the Monastery, they completed their compendium. It was titled "A Genealogical Chart of Immortals at the White Cloud Monastery" 白雲仙表 and was presented to the Monastery, which has since regarded it as part of its formal lineage history.[96] Three years later in 1850, Chongshi collaborated with Meng again to produce the painting of the patriarch Qiu's trek to see the khan.

Chongshi also developed a friendship with Liu Chengyin, an ordained Quanzhen Daoist and eunuch official of the Imperial Household Department (mentioned above). In the spring of 1886, a decade after Chongshi's death, Liu Chengyin honored his mend's memory and his devotion to Quanzhen Daoism by having two of Chongshi's essays inscribed on steles and erecting them at the Monastery compound.[97] Finally, according to an early-twentieth-century source, Chongshi sought out Quanzhen Daoists in order to consult about political actions. Chongshi's interest in Quanzhen Daoism seemed to have gone beyond the limits of personal piety to influence his political actions as a Qing governor in present-day Manchuria. According to one late-Qing and early-Republican source, when he first took on the assignment as military governor of Fengtian, Chongshi purportedly consulted an elusive Daoist recluse at the Palace of Supreme Purity 太清宮 in Shengjiang 盛京 on the political situation and the art of governance for the region, which had been ravaged by both banditry and the bloated Manchu banner bureaucracy.[98]

Like his elder brother and father, Chonghou became a patron of the White Cloud Monastery through the channels of writing and art.

He shared his father's admiration for patriarch Qiu Chuji, and such faith sustained him during the dark days of his official career. In the summer of

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[94] See "Xueshan ying pin tu" 雪山應聘圖, a long scroll painting in the collection at the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing, and digital photos in my collection. Painted on rice paper in ink and color, the painting is approximately 140 cm in height and 500 cm in length, and currently mounted in a large and dusty frame in the former exhibition room located in the east wing flanking the Hall of the Three Purities at the White Cloud Monastery. See a description in Li Yangzheng 李養正, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyun guan zhi* 新編北京白雲觀志 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 2003), pp. 568–69. But Li errs in identifying the year of the commission as 1833, since Chongshi was only thirteen. In 2005, I was able to examine the painting and now, based on Chongshi's inscription and seals, can ascertain that the actual date of the commission is the fall of 1850, approximately five years after Linqing's death.

[95] For abbot Zhang's close ties with the Qing court and his defense of Nanyang during the Qing suppression of the Niens and Taipings, see transcription of "Libu bei" 禮部碑 (1867), text in my collection. The stele was originally commissioned by an abbot of the Xuanmiao monastery and is currently held at the depository of Nanyang Museum. See also Fu Shoutong 傅壽彤, "Yuanmiao guan cangjing ge ji" 元妙觀藏經閣記, in *NTXZ* 12, pp. 21b–22b, and Pu Wenxian 濮文暹, "Zhang Zongxuan daoren ta ming" 張宗璿道人塔銘, in his *Jianzai kanji* 見在龕集 (n.p.: 1917) 19, pp. 21b–22a.

[96] See Chongshi and Meng, *Baiyun xian biao* (1847), ms. (Beijing: Baiyun guan). It is recently reprinted in Hu, *Zang wai dao shu*, vol. 31, pp. 373–405.

[97] In 1886, Liu Chengyin paid for the erection of two steles bearing the commemorative essays authored by Chongshi before his death. See Chongshi, "Luo zhenren daoxing bei" 羅真人道行碑, and "Kunyang zhenren daoxing bei" 崑陽真人道行碑, in Koyanagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, pp. 101–63.

[98] The account of Chongshi seeking advice from the Daoist and carrying out rigorous administrative reforms is offered in two sources with similar wording. One is "Shang-qing gong daoshi" 上清宮道士, in Fei Xinjian 費行簡, *Jindai mingren xiaozhuan* 近代名人小傳, printed in Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊 (Taipei: Wen-hai chuban she, 1967) vol. 78, p. 63. The other is Wang Shu-nan 王樹楠 (1851–1934), *Fengtian tongzhi* 奉天通志 (n.p.: 1934), *j.* 222, pp. 10a–b. Chongshi's own account of his administrative reforms in Fengtian from 1875 to the winter of 1876 when he fell gravely ill, shows himself to be rather cautious, well-informed, and adroit in facing problems of governance in Manchuria. For instance, before he accepted his assignment as the governor and general commandant for the Fengtian regions, Chongshi was keenly aware of the nepotism, inefficiency, and corruption among the banner officials there. In his interview with the throne and the two empresses-dowager, he secured additional power and authority as imperial commissioner, his own team of civil administrators and military officers, and personal guard troops before marching into Manchuria to carry out his reforms. See Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu," pp. 161–89.

1882, just a few years after his dismissal from office due to the disastrous Russian mission, Chonghuo became active in the cult of patriarch Qiu. Chonghou befriended abbot Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (also, Mingtong 明峒, *z.* Yunxi 雲溪, *h.* Shoushan zi 壽山子, 1841–1907), who succeeded abbot Meng in 1881, prior Yao Aiyun 姚靄雲 (?–1912), and other Daoists at the Monastery.[99] At that time, Chonghou composed a biography of Qiu Chuji with the help from Gao, Yao, and an adept from the Leizu Temple 雷祖閣. They were conversant with the exploits of the patriarch during the early part of the Yuan dynasty. Upon completion, Chonghou presented the biography to the Monastery and requested that it be hung in the hall that contained the patriarch's relics. He later discussed plans with Gao and Yao to have the biography carved on a stele.[100]

The completion of Chonghou's biographical compilation mobilized fellow bannermen to support the patriarch's cult in the capital. Between the summer and the fall of 1882, with the help and leadership of Liu Chengyin, several hundred ranking bannermen, court officials, and eunuchs organized the Permanent Donors Society for the Master of Eternal Spring, which raised funds to provide for the White Cloud Monastery's annual supplies of incense, oil, candles, and other materials, as well as festivals honoring the patriarch.[101]

Conclusion

This account of the Wanyans' religious life and activities over a period of a hundred years may shed light on the vital role that Daoism played

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[99] For more on Gao Rentong's career, see Liu, "Visualizing Perfection," pp. 57–115. Abbot Yao was originally from Shaanxi and soon created legend, first as an officer under the command of Duolonge 多隆阿 (*z.* 禮堂, 1818–1864) in the Qing army, and later as an ordained Quanzhen adept at both the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing until 1895 and at the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang until his death in 1912; see Pan and Zhang, *Xin xiu Nanyang* 12, pp. 23b–24a. He was executed by Republican revolutionaries in Nanyang for his previous close ties with the Qing military and political establishments in Henan; see also *NTXZ*, p. 587.

[100] See Chongshi, "Qiu Changchun zhenren shishi" 邱長春真人事實 (1882), in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 87.

[101] Membership of the donor society was made up of 111 bannermen and officials, 62 eunuchs and Imperial Household Department officials, and 5 business establishments that seemed to be patronized by these bannermen. See "Changchun yongjiu shenghui huishou fangming" 長春永久聖會會首芳名 and "Changchun yongjiu shenghui neiting huishou ge fangming" 長春永久聖會內庭會首各芳名, in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 88; 86, p. 7. (Authorship of the latter works is hard to determine.)

among the Qing elite and in the culture and daily life of nineteenth-century China.

First, although not the exclusive religion among the Wanyans, Daoism played a vital and consistent role. For nearly a century, Wanyans like lord Xiaoyan, and on to Yun Zhu and Tinglu, finally to Linqing and his sons, consistently patronized Daoist institutions and pursued various Daoist cults, techniques, and practices. Daoist-inspired notions of selfhood and destiny, and Daoist healing and self-cultivation techniques, affected their outlook and life decisions. This was true for Yun Zhu's perception of herself as a former celestial scribe and for Linqing's choice of wife. Further, the large Daoist impact reminds us of its ubiquitous presence among the Qing elite and the society at large. For that reason, Linqing could write casually in his autobiography about his friendship with adepts, his séance sessions with staff councilors to seek divine guidance, and his personal selection of a Daoist yoga and meditation instructor among his own friends and associates. Like him, or together with him, many of his peers pursued similar Daoist practices and acts of patronage.

Second, despite their high social and cultural status as the *booyi* to the Qing imperial household and high-ranking officials at the court, the Wanyans' practice and patronage of Daoism both reflected and contributed to a larger Daoist-infused religious culture, which was also supported and sanctioned by the Qing court late in the dynasty. It is no accident that some of Linqing's associates and colleagues in office, and later those of his office in Kaifeng, shared his Quanzhen Daoist piety and collaborated with him in restoring the portraits of the Quanzhen masters housed at White Cloud Monastery in Beijing. As we have seen, these court elites, from the Qianlong emperor, empresses-dowager, princes, court officials, down to clerical and eunuch staff, all supported the Daoist-influenced religious culture by participating in the Daoist temple festivals, patriarch cults, by patronizing temples, and by pursuing Daoist-inspired self-cultivation and healing practices. Many components of this religious culture, such as the patriarch Qiu's cult at White Cloud Monastery received annual funding from the Qing court. This informal yet official support by the throne and the court in turn inspired and sanctioned pursuits of Daoist faith and practices by Qing court officials like Linqing. Linqing, for instance, specifically pointed to the Qianlong emperor's patronage of patriarch Qiu at the Monastery as the model for his own efforts in renovating the shrines that housed the images of Quanzhen masters. Indeed, the Daoist-influenced elite religious culture spread and became part of everday elite life in the capital, affecting royal personages, high-ranking bannermen, and low officials in the late-Qing period.

Third, in the case of the Wanyans, familial influences also played an important role in propagating and sustaining Daoist beliefs and practices. Like their predecessors in the Song and Ming periods, the Wanyans were motivated by a variety of factors, ranging from a personal sense of extraordinary destiny through problems with illness or disturbing, divine encounters, to cult beliefs in the healing powers of Daoist deities. But what distinguished them from their earlier counterparts is the way that the family passed along styles and foci of their Daoist faith and practices. What inspired Chongshi and Chonghou to become patrons and followers of the Qiu Chuji cult in great part was also a sense of filial piety, honoring their late father's wishes. This family-borne brand of Daoism sets the Wanyans apart. Unlike the some of the late-Song literati patrons of the Daoist Southern Lineage in Fujian, as investigated by Skar, and the elite Buddhist followers in late-Ming Jiangnan that Brook studied, the Wanyans did not form devotional groups or associations among themselves or with other fellow elites. While they did collaborated with their peers in renovating monasteries or participating in seasonal temple festivities in honor of patriarchic deities, their patronage and involvement seemed primarily based on personal faith and familial tradition. It did not rise to the level of formal association with fellow elites.

Fourth, the Wanyans' familial and personal Daoism bears clear imprints of their social status and cultural tastes. While the Wanyans, like their commoner counterparts, participated in popular forms of patronage for temple festivals, divination, ritual healing, and donor societies, they also differed from commoners. As ranking court officials and highly educated elites, the Wanyans expressed and embodied their acts of piety and patronage in poems, essays, paintings, calligraphy, autobiographies, and other aesthetic avenues.

Last, in terms of the extent of the Daoist influence on the whole Qing court elite and especially its political ramifications, we are still in need of a full length study. Based on the findings presented here, the Daoist penetration of the Qing court culture was certainly ubiquitous, but it does not seem to have achieved the same level of systemic intensity and pervasiveness at the Ming court as described by Liu Ts'un-yan in his work.[102] In the area of pursuit of Daoist techniques, such as "nourishment of life" and of Daoist permeation into the outlook of the elite, there are some clear continuities between the Ming and the Qing eras. Indeed, the interest in Daoist meditative practice among Linqing and his fellow elites was a direct legacy of the widespread practice of "nourishing life" among the Ming elite. Just as the pervasive Daoist influence on the Ming elite produced a tangible effect on Ming court politics and society, so would the Quanzhen Daoist permeation of the Qing elite culture generate its own influence at a time of great social and political change in nineteenth-century China. A better idea of the scope and nature of this influence awaits the results of our further investigations.

In the end, the Wanyans' patronage of Daoism represents a two-way traffic that was mutually beneficial. As they befriended a Daoist priest, or called on a monastery, or pondered over Daoist cosmology in a poem; as they compiled a biography of Quanzhen lineage masters, or impressed a personal seal onto a Daoist painting, they invariably engaged intellectually and spiritually with Daoist subjectivity. In doing so, they lent their prestige, status and influence to Quanzhen Daoism, and in return they garnered the practical benefits of healing, and most of all, spiritual capital.

List of Abbreviations

BTSK	*Beijing tushu guan cang Zhongguo lidai shi ke taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏歷代中國石刻拓本匯編
DZ	1988 edn. of *Daozang* 道藏
HX	Wanyan Linqing, *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji* 鴻雪因緣圖記
NYXZ	*Nanyang xianzhi* 南陽縣誌
QPZJ	*Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊

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[102] Liu Ts'un-yan has described in great detail the wide-spread interest among the Ming elite in "nourishment of life and the control of breath (養生調息)," in addition to the Daoist influence on the state and court rituals, the proliferation of the "Blue Prayers 青詞," and the Daoist sorcery and witchcraft practices at the Ming court; Liu, *Selected Papers*, pp. 76–148.

■ Source: Grupper, Samuel M., 'Manchu patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the first half of the Ch'ing dynasty', in *Journal of the Tibet Society*, No. 4, 1984, published by The Tibet Society, pp. 47–75.

MANCHU PATRONAGE AND TIBETAN BUDDHISM DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE CH'ING DYNASTY

A REVIEW ARTICLE

Samuel M. Grupper*

Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, *Ni ma'i'od zer/Naran-u gerel: Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger Lčaṅ skya-Qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786)* (Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abt. II, Bd. 1, Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1976) 109 pp., 181 plates.

From the latter half of the seventeenth century the series of reincarnations known as the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtus served as an important link between the Manchu court and the Mongol, Tibetan and Chinese elites. Rol pa'i rdo rǰe, the second Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu, stemmed from an illustrious Tibetanized-Mongol family of western Kansu province whose members assumed prominent roles as scholars and administrators of the Dge lugs pa. As a novice, Rol pa'i rdo rje learned Tantric practices from the most prestigious scholastic of the day, the Abbot of Dga' ldan monastery, Khri chen Blo bzaṅ bstan pa'i ñi ma. At once a distinguished scholar and a celebrated teacher—he tutored the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in Tibetan Buddhism and Sanskrit—the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu also wrote prolifically on philosophy and hagiography. In fact, a review of his achievements indicates he played a more prominent role in Ch'ing cultural life than is commonly supposed. As editor and philologist he brought together and supervised the translation commissions for the Tibetan *Tanjur* into Mongolian and the Chinese *Kanjur* into Manchu, compiled a Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionary, the *Mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*, and wrote a commentary to Thon mi Sambhoṭa's grammar. He authored words on 'Phags pa Lama, the Seventh Dalai Lama Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho, and his former teacher, the Abbot of Dga' ldan. But he is perhaps best known for the diplomatic negotiations he conducted with the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and Rǰe

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[*] I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Ruth Dunnell for having generously taken the time to read earlier drafts of this essay and for having discussed with me the broad historical context of the problems I have described in this paper.

btsun dam pa Qutuġtu concerning the tumult caused by the Žungar-Kalka wars in Mongolia. His friendship with the emperor enabled him to speak with special authority on matters of importance to the Manchu ruling house and, conversely, to express directly to the throne the concerns of the Dge lugs pa. The biography, in short, deals with the life of a cultivated, knowledgeable representative of Tibetan Buddhism and companion of the Manchu emperor who enjoyed great privilege and moved in the highest echelons of Ch'ing society as a scholastic and man of affairs. The record of Rol pa'i rdo rǰe's remarkable spiritual, literary and diplomatic activities therefore provides a personal focus for the religious and ritual concerns of the Manchu court when the growing power of the Ch'ing dynasty neared its zenith in Inner Asia.

Hans-Rainer Kämpfe has accumulated and brought under control a considerable amount of data in preparing his informative introduction to this useful text. Methodologically, he generally follows the model for textual studies of bi-lingual Tibeto-Mongol literary sources set out by Rudolph Kaschewsky in his work on the biography of Tsoṅ kha pa.[1] Kämpfe has mastered the philological and literary sources dealing with the complex Ch'ing period materials and has put together an edition that is nearly an *explication de texte*. The result is an excellent piece of scholarship and a most provocative introduction to a literary monument of the mid-Ch'ing period.

The editor presents his materials in four parts. In part one, he considers the history of the text, presenting well-ordered bibliographic data, the whereabouts of various copies in specific manuscript collections and a discussion on the text's literary relationships. He then gives a brief account of its author, Ṅag dbaṅ thub bstan dbaṅ phyug, Rol pa'i rdo rǰe's brother, covers other sources on the life of Rol pa'i rdo rǰe, and provides a thumbnail sketch placing the subject within the historical context of his times. In part two, he ranges, though not as extensively as did Kaschewsky, over the text folio by folio to summarize its essential facts in what often amounts to a line-by-line paraphrase (and in many cases a word-for-word translation) of the Tibetan text and its Mongol translation. In part three, he provides notes to the previous sections and includes a glossary of religious and secular Tibetan, Mongol, Manchu and Chinese titles and technical terms associated with individuals named in the text, as well as identifications of place names. Part four consists of facsimiles of the Tibetan and Mongol texts.

The assessment of the critical source value of this hagiography presents special problems of interpretation. The description of the diplomatic and religious duties Rol pa'i rdo rǰe carried out as liaison between the Ch'ien-lung Emperor and the Dge lugs pa prelates ruling Tibet and Mongolia, together with specific accounts of court-centered Tantric rites, makes it clear the biography is addressed to members of the Tibeto-Mongol clerical community. It is of significant value therefore in attempting to determine how eighteenth century lamas looked at their vocation. Because the author's major concern was to depict the life of a Buddhist saint with respect to his influence on the lives of others by his example and doctrine (and in the case of the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu those he influenced were members of the Manchu imperial household) it raises an historiographical question: Were the Manchu rulers devout believers or merely generous benefactors who assumed their role as patrons of Tibetan Buddhism along with their sovereignty of the eastern portion of Inner Asia?

In what follows, I will attempt to outline this historiographical issue from the vantage point of Manchu studies and the cognate discipline of Mongolistics, to see what these two areas of study can bring to bear on the question of Tibetan Buddhism during the first half of the Ch'ing dynasty.

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A glance at the religious observances of the court mentioned in the biography makes such events seem inappropriate, if not inexplicable, had not the ruling house indeed professed Tibetan Buddhism. In this regard, most specialists of Ch'ing studies relying predominantly on Chinese sources have skirted the issue of Manchu conviction in Tibetan Buddhism, favoring the interpretation that imperial patronage began as a measure for holding the loyalty of the Mongol nobility. Such a policy obviously came to serve Sino-Manchu ambitions in establishing protectorates in Mongolia and Tibet. Now, thanks largely to David Farquhar's exploration of the antecedents of the Manchu theory of state and religion, a conceptual framework exists to explain how the monarchy organized its relations with the Tibetans and Mongols of the Ch'ing state.[2]

Behind the policies for the restablization of Buddhist Inner Asian society established by the *Pax Manjurica* lay a fundamental conception of Buddhist monarchy, one of the constitutional features of which was close cooperation of crown and clergy. Its interpreters exhorted the emperor to promote publication and study of the sutras, and encouraged his devotion and that of his family and officials to the Dharma as the basis for preserving the state against natural calamities, public disorders and foreign invasions. The association of the Manchu ruler with his chaplain provided a measure of continuity with established precedents, which, in fact, amounted to the Manchu application of rites and customs that antedate even the Yüan pattern.

Medieval Chinese documentary and hagiographical sources contain references to foreign ācāryas as National Masters (*Kuo-shih*), noting that they initiated various T'ang emperors as *Bodhisattvas/Jen-wang* or *Cakravartins/Lun-wang*. The Sung dynasty followed T'ang precedents in subsidizing translations of canonical works including those outlining the benefits religiously-inspired monarchs could expect. For example, affairs of state held a prominent place in the *Jen wang hu kuo po jo po lo mi to Ching* and in the *Lun wang ch'i pao Ching*, Tantric works which urged consecrated sovereigns to adopt the twin goals of Bodhisattvahood and universal dominion.[3] That the Manchus in the seventeenth century would have a high regard for related Tibetan doctrines while conversely—as a matter of theology as well as self-interest—Tibetan prelates would be supporters of the regime, seems plausible in light of the traditional application of Buddhist theology to statecraft.

While this religiously-motivated stance of the ruler helps to make sense of the reasons why the Manchus would adopt the Tibetan rite, the elements of these theocratic and political equations are still incomplete and the manner in which they were integrated with one another is poorly understood. Consequently, much remains to be done in reconstructing events and assessing states of minds before it can be shown why the Manchus involved themselves in Buddhist affairs in general and for what ends in Tibet and Mongolia in particular. But whether considered as a reflection of political realities or measured in terms of partisan or international objectives, the existance of Manchu patronage does not affect the point that the ruling house had a sincere belief in Tantric doctrines or that imperial policies were shaped by a conviction in the truth of Buddhist teachings.

Therefore imperial support for Tibetan Buddhism went beyond reasons of personal piety—not to mention notions of legitimacy and stability, crucial though such notions were. The recognition of mutual interests between the Manchu ruling house and various hiererchs of Tibetan Buddhism preceded official contacts with the Dge lugs pa in 1637.[4] Institutionally and theologically, formal relations between the throne and Tibetan prelates drew heavily, albeit not suprisingly, on Mongol experience and preferences for the Sa skya pa. Though the history of the Sa skya pa mission to the Manchus remains unwritten, it may not be premature to describe the circumstances whereby certain lamas succeeded in establishing themselves at the pre-dynastic Manchu court, and the effects of their having done so.[5]

To summarize what follows, the early accord between the Manchu ruling house and Tibetan Buddhism took the form of a traditional Buddhist monarchy, a constitutional feature of which was the partnership of the ruler and his chaplain. Here I would like to consider, in a limited way, what the influence of this relation was on the ideological development of the Manchu monarchy during the initial reigns of the Ch'ing dynasty. Study of several Tibetan Buddhist monuments in Manchuria illuminates pre- and early Ch'ing religious behavior, allowing us to see something of the formalism of the spiritual bond between the Manchu rulers and their religious advisors. Furthermore, the identification of this factor will serve as an orientation for some simple points concerning the role Tibetan Buddhism played as a major unifying force in the Manchu polity during the reigns of Nurhaci (Ch'ing T'ai-tsu, r. 1616–1626), the founder of the Manchu dynasty, and Abahai (T'ai-tsung, r. 1626–1643),[6] his son and successor, and the cultural precedents it established for later reigns.

Tibetan Buddhism in the Reign of Ch'ing T'ai-Tsu

More than half a century ago, Oshibuchi Hajime, the Japanese epigraphist, outlined the characteristics of the formative stage of the Manchu conversion to Tibetan Buddhism.[7] Confining my remarks largely to his findings, the ensuing points present a number of details that will help to order the evidence regarding a religiously-inspired monarchy.

Early seventeenth century Tibeto-Mongol sources refer to contemporary Tibetan missionaries established in the Cahar Khanate, while supporting Manchu documents suggest the movement of individual lamas eastward from Cahar into its dependecies in Manchuria.[8] This period, which coincides with the extension and consolidation of Nurhaci's regime into northwestern and southern Manchuria, also marked the arrival of Tibetan missionaries at the Manchu court. At an undetermined date prior to 1621, Buddhist influence had progressed to the extent that Nurhaci had taken initiation[9] and appointed his lama, the Olug Darhan Nangso,[10] as Dharma-master of the Manchu realm.[11] Consequently, the emperor placed under the Olug's jurisdiction a temple outside the capital at Liao-yang, the Lien-hua Ssu, and endowed it with landed property and servitors, the so-called La ma Yüan.[12] This is the first attested instance of Manchu patronage of Tibetan Buddhism. An appropriate inference to be drawn from the pro-sopographical data is that the lama—a possessor of rights of lordship over several hundred Korcin and Sahalca households who followed him to the capital—took his place in Manchu society as a peer of the Manchu and Mongol aristocratic retainers of the emperor.

These facts, whatever the details, show that Nurhaci's consecration and the resulting benefice established on the outskirts of the pre-dynastic capital as a patrimony for the Olug—a property which subsequently became the inheritance of his successors—mirror the emperor's desire to be associated with Tibetan Buddhist ideals. Taken together with the lama's "national" prestige (cf. n. 11), they point toward Manchu acceptance of the social doctrine associated with the dichotomy of society into secular and religious spheres, an arrangement that had long distinguished Tibeto-Mongol culture.

Nor do these cases stand alone. A review of the onomastic evidence makes it possible to place the founding Manchu emperor personally with respect to such ideas.[13] At present, however, it remains an open question whether one should interpret the establishment of an imperial chaplaincy by Nurhaci roughly at the same time as his declaration of dynastic ambitions as emperor of the Later Chin (Hou Chin) dynasty in 1616 as an expression of religious endorsement for Manchu expansionism.[14] The true significance of these events, I feel, lies not in the ruler's need to hold the support of a group of Mongol partisans *per se*, but rather in the cultural appeal of Tibeto-Mongol Buddhism and the aura of authority of the cakravartin which Nurhaci's involvement in the lama-patron relationship suggests.[15]

Tibetan Buddhism in the Reign of Ch'ing T'ai-Tsung

Given the foregoing vantage point, I would like now to connect Nurhaci's involvement in the lama-patron relationship to the flourishing of Tibetan Buddhist activities that took place during the reign of his son, Abahai. The religious interests underlying Nurhaci's conversion anticipated, in part, Abahai's decision in 1635 to found the Temple of Mahākāla at Mukden in order to enshrine the image of the guardian deity of the Sa skya pa, the remains of the Sa skya Lama Šar pa Qutuġtu, and the Mongol *Kanǰur*. Political considerations surrounding the fall of the Cahar Khanate notwithstanding, when the group of Sa syka lamas who had transferred their allegiance from the last Mongol qaġan, Legdan, consecrated Abahai, they affirmed a link with the religious practices embarked upon by Nurhaci and the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama.[16]

At the same time, the throne began to alter its relation to religious authority. A review of the evidence for the endowment of Tibetan Buddhist communities at Mukden during the following decade shows extensively funded branch temples and stupas for a grand program of temple construction.[17] This period of augmented imperial support belongs to an epoch of changed political circumstances, i.e. the extermination of the Cahar Khanate and the rapid westward expansion of Manchu power over the Mongols south of the Gobi. Over the course of a generation (1610s–1640s), the dual principle of the theoretical equality of the emperor and his chaplain, and by extension the parity of state and religion—the distinguishing trait of the medieval Mongol-Sa skya pa alliance (Tib. *lugs gñis* Mong. *qoyar yosun*)[18]—came to occupy a place in Manchu ideas about statecraft. This came about partly because of Manchu alliances with, and annexations or conquests of, various Mongol tribes.

With these facts in mind, most would agree (nor would I dispute) that this pro-Buddhist policy dictated the main lines of strategy in relation to the regime's Mongol allies, and was aimed at their accepting Manchu authority. Adoption of the model of cakravartin monarchy not only enhanced the Manchu emperor's ability to govern the Mongols, but imitated intentionally the pattern of groups and institutions traditionally thought to have unified Yüan society. Outwardly, this explanation shifts only slightly the received interpretation that the throne patronized Tibetan Buddhism to ensure Mongol support. But here I wish to stress a critical difference in emphasis. As well as satisfying Mongol expectations about the nature of the evolving Ch'ing state, Manchu support for Buddhism defined a characteristic of the realm's political development according to the medieval Mongol-Sa skya pa model: a polity in which a religiously-inspired monarchy headed a theologically-grounded state.

As a result, the foundation of an imperial sanctuary at the capital dedicated to the worship of Mahākāla[19] was more than an elaborate gesture of good intentions and, in fact, indicated an act of continuity with medieval and contemporary Mongol images of monarchy. On several occasions the sanctuary provided the appropriate ritual environment when the Sa skya pa enlarged the imperial household's sacral image according to traditional Tantric initiations.[20] These initiations and public rites coincided with the period when Abahai received investiture as qaġan and secured the homage of his Manchu and Mongol supporters. Not only did these rituals entitle Abahai, himself part Mongol, to be called emperor, but they furnished him with the overarching ideological basis for establishing a successor state to the medieval Yüan dynasty and for reconstituting its political components.[21] As a further step toward that end and as a consequence of his enthronement, Abahai proclaimed the *Dayicing* (Mong. *Dayicing~Ch. Ta-ch'ing*) dynasty.[22]

Keeping in mind the relation of these ideas of applied theology to the central event of formally establishing the dynasty, I would argue that the Manchu state, at this stage of its development, had taken on the trappings of a traditional Buddhist realm. It had enthroned a sacral ruler, sanctioned the theoretical dual organizaton of state and religion first endorsed by Nurhaci and the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama,23 and embraced as its own the dynastic cult of Mahākāla to celebrate and preserve the Manchu ratification of state and religion. Against this background it is apparent that as early as 1635, if not already in the time of Nurhaci, the Sa skya lamas (with imperial encouragement) had recast the medieval claim for their brand of Buddhist Tantrism to be the state religion of the nascent Ch'ing dynasty.

A further sign of the honor the Manchus paid to these Sa skya pa ideas took place in 1643 when Abahai's religious advisor Biligtü Nangso began to direct work on the extension of the Mahākāla complex. Under the shared patronage of Abahai and Fu-lin (i.e., the Shun-chih Emperor, r. 1644–1662), the Sa skya pa completed in 1645 an elaborate complex of four temples and adjunct stupas—the Rnam par snaṅ ba'i lha khaṅ, the Thugs rǰe chen po'i lha khaṅ, the Tshe dpag med mgon gyi lha khaṅ, and the Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lha khaṅ—to encircle the Temple of Mahākāla, the palace of the cakravartin, and the capital of Mukden within a mandala.[24] On the one hand, the construction of this architectonic representation of the Buddhist cosmological order (an arrangement reminiscent of the ensemble of Bsam yas at the old Tibetan imperial precinct of Brag mar) celebrated Abahai's succession as cakravartin, defined Manchu dynastic right, and set the Manchu capital and realm under the protection of Mahākāla.[25] On the other hand, it identified the interests of the ruling house with its sanctuary and the presiding lamas while demonstrating an abiding conviction in the efficacy of the Sa skya pa world view.[26]

If the above data and the facts and arguments presented in their support are reliable, a number of conclusions can be drawn about early Manchu imperial devotion to Tibetan Buddhism:

> There seems sufficient reason to assert that the first two reigns followed a cultural pattern well-known to students of Tibetan history. Both rulers accepted Tibetan Buddhism, both showed deference to their lamas (Abahai, in fact, patronized several),[27] and both endowed their chaplains' temples in commemoration of their initiations. Both, their posthumous personas as T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung notwithstanding, were consecrated rulers whose vows committed them publicly and personally to support Tibetan Buddhism.

These experiences, I contend, represent more than episodic dealings with Tibetan Buddhism. The acts of imperial participation and material assistance documented in the epigraphical and architectural monuments and collateral sources show that Nurhaci and Abahai regarded themselves as Buddhist monarchs, and illustrate the official recognition of the religious bonds the first two sovereigns had with their lamas. This religious theme is especially apparent in the iconography of the Mahākāla complex, perhaps the most eloquent of contemporaneous architectural expressions of Tantric Buddhist dynastic right to be found outside Tibet. Beyond question, in terms of conception and scale, it appears to dwarf any seventeenth century sanctuary except the Potala and points to having played an analogous role in the evolution of Manchu imperial culture.

In this regard, the early Manchu Buddhist monuments constitute evidence favoring the interpretation that the most powerful political institution of the Manchu polity—the monarchy—at its political centers of gravity, first at Liao-yang and then at Mukden, identified itself with the ideals of Tibetan Buddhism long before it claimed to rule the majority of Tibetans and Mongols. The self-definition of a religiously-inspired monarchy ruling a Buddhist state obviously dignified the sense of emerging Manchu national importance. But the most striking thing, in historiographical terms, is that it marked the formation of a realm ideologically indistinguishable from the manner in which the contemporary Mongol khanates viewed themselves. Together with other elements of Mongol statecraft and trappings preferred by the Manchu ruling house prior to the conquest of China, the founding emperors embraced the notion of a Tibeto-Mongol style Buddhist monarchy as one of the components of imperial authority, though in what proportion to the whole remains undetermined.

What this means, among other things, is the approval in Manchu ruling circles of Mongol-Sa skya pa ideas. But my point is that, based on the cultural pattern established in the pre- and early dynastic periods profiled above, this body of material should be interpreted as evidence of a Manchu predilection for a Buddhist-inspired polity. Certainly no one would argue that contemporary Mongol monarchies lacked this religious inspiration. Yet the material evidence relative to Buddhist devotion in the early Manchu Khanate surpassess any of the published monuments from the seventeenth century Mongol-Buddhist states. Moreover, I would argue that the Manchu ruling house, at this stage, chose to patronize Tibetan

Buddhism not simply because it wished to subordinate the Mongols to Manchu rule. Rather, because of its own mixed cultural legacy and the realm's diverse ethnic compositon of Manchus, Mongols and Chinese, it anticipated that its dynastic ambitions as a successor state to the Yüan dynasty would be better served by adopting the Mongol-Sa skya pa pattern of the hybrid political and social order that had existed under medieval Mongol rule. The Mukden Buddhist monuments, and to a lesser degree the complex at Liao-yang from which they most likely evolved, symbolize a Buddhist world order conceptually distinct from the Sinocentric model conventionally attributed to the Manchus in their efforts to form a state in the pre-dynastic era.

To recapitulate: of the factors surveyed in this essay to demonstrate the existence of the partnership of the ruler and the representatives of Tibetan Buddhism, I feel two are the most significant for defining the nature of the relationship between them. First, the devotional—the formal recognition of a personal spiritual bond between the Manchu emperor and his chaplain, the so-called lama-patron relationship. Second, the institutional—the establishment of Tibetan Buddhism as an officially recognized, state-supported national institution.

Both factors contributed to the theological foundation of the Manchu monarchy. The evidence shows that cordial relations between the imperial household and the Sa skya pa in the 1620s–1630s relied on reciprocity between crown and clergy remaining steadfast, and did not depend on the outcome of international relations prompted by geopolitical ambitions in Tibet or Outer Mongolia, or by the political limitations the Manchus imposed on allied Inner Mongolia. Under the influence of the Sa skya pa, the Manchus instituted the fundamental bond that the Mongol ruling house had established with its chaplains at the formative stage of conversion to Tibetan Buddhism during the period of the Mongol world empire. Without enumerating all the problems surrounding this relationship, it should be obvious that the Manchu organization of state and faith paralleled medieval and contemporary Mongol conventions, an association of crown and clergy rooted in Tibetan practice.

Meanwhile, at Liao-yang and then Mukden, the Manchus had formulated a coherent policy towards Tibetan Buddhism and perpetuated it once they had moved the government to Peking. Prolonged involvement with the Sa skya pa meant that the Manchus brought with them a set of well-formed expectations about the nature of a Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist-inspired monarchy and a full comprehension of the lama-patron relationship when the Manchu regent, Dorgon, proposed to meet the Dge lugs pa hierarchs at Peking in 1651.

While Ming loyalists operated in the southwest of China, the Ch'ing had strategic reasons for entering into favorable relations with the Dalai Lama. But an alliance with newly unified Tibet was not the only Manchu concern. More formidable by far were the internal conflicts that had to be resolved if foreign diplomacy was to succeed. Divisions within the imperial clan that surfaced following Dorgon's sudden death in 1650 posed a dangerous threat to central authority and required the immediate attention of Manchu policy makers. Dorgon's successor, Jirgalang, an advocate of imperial prerogatives, viewed the lack of unity and rampant partisanship[28] as the most critical political factors to be overcome in reasserting imperial rights. Consequently, talks with the Dge lugs pa mission convened amidst grave political strains that plagued the regime until the middle of 1652.

How, in this instance, internal politics determined external policies may never be known. But some consideration of the weakened condition of the monarchy and the recent overthrow of Dorgon's faction could not have failed to have affected the course of the negotiations. As the restoration of the monarchy was the one solid achievement of his regency, Jirgalang could not afford to forego traditional Buddhist sanction to make it enforceable. On this account, we have seen that ideological currents in the highest circles of Manchu society had moved in the direction of a universalist, Buddhist-inspired succession for some time. The new dispensation of 1653 that replaced the Sa skya pa with the Dge lugs pa culturally and ideologically benefitted the regime's well-established Buddhist identity. Given the consequence of the antecedents and models ratified by Nurhaci and Abahai and their respective chaplains, a case can be made for the logic behind why the Shun-chih Emperor supported the Dge lugs pa and gave his protection to the Dalai Lama.[29] The emperor's patronage (under Jirgalang's guidance) was a measure of his satisfaction with the sacralization of his restoration, and an endorsement of his policy of centralizing power over the aristocracy. At the same time, this authentication of his reign serves to explain why Dge lugs pa influence at court was not called into serious question, and how the sect's capacity to pursue its religious mission with more autonomy was strengthened.

The Manchu-Dge lugs pa accord—an arrangement that won the sect significant state subsidies—produced profound social and economic consequences too. If this pro-Buddhist policy was followed, as the evidence indicates it was, it was of considerable importance, since the effect was to increase the community of interests between the Mongol lords and their Tibetan Buddhist chaplains as a class, together with the Manchu ruling house and its chaplains. What impact Tibetan Buddhism had on the lives of Manchus outside court circles is an important subject requiring further study.[30] At the very least, however, it appears as if the discriminatory allocation of power over socially subordinate groups and landed property to the Dge lugs pa, in those regions under Manchu domination, grew out of a favorable climate of opinion surrounding the continuing contributions of Buddhist ideas in the evolution of the Manchu monarchy. It did not, as it is sometimes disparagingly said, begin as an instrument of social control to instill Mongol submission to the Manchu emperor, but instead developed in accordance with traditional Tibeto-Mongol cultural standards which the Manchus acknowledged as their own. This does not mean, of course, that individual hierarchs and monastic institutions always treated their subjects in an exemplary fashion, any more than members of the lay aristocracy so treated theirs.

Having detected the reality of a religiously-inspired Manchu monarchy, and keeping in mind the inevitable gaps between theory and practice, what historiographical relevance does it have for Ch'ing era Sino-Tibetan and Sino-Mongolian studies? There are, in my opinion, two interrelated interpretive changes that stand out.

First, it shifts the focus of early Manchu patronage away from Tibetan Buddhism as merely a pragmatic policy instrument for Tibeto-Mongol affairs towards intrinsic religious motivation and its corollary principle of Buddhist monarchy.

Second, it means that Manchu ideology with respect to the Tibetans and Mongols has to be re-interpreted in terms in which the development of an idea of a traditional, cohesive Buddhist state becomes more important, and the notion that patronage of Tibetan Buddhism served the Manchus' divide and rule policy becomes much less important.

That Nurhaci, Abahai and the Shun-chih Emperor used their religious charisma and personal relationships with their lamas to influence their Buddhist subjects as circumstances permitted seems undeniable. But to suggest, as have some, that Manchu rulers patronized Tibetan Buddhism as a state policy predominantly to impose a system of divide and rule, results in a distorted and misleading interpretation of the amalgam of personal relations, religious beliefs and institutional factors that made for affairs of state and faith. As in the case of the Yüan dynasty, Manchu policy toward Tibetan Buddhism must be explained by personal religious considerations as well as by partisan and ideological motives.

Tibetan Buddhism during the Mid-Ch'ing Period

The early history of crown and clergy outlined above brings into relief the sincere regard the Manchus had for the lama-patron relationship. Subsequent Manchu rulers thought this relationship had a salutary effect too, and took care to credit the first emperors with establishing relations with Tibetan Buddhism. The fact that the K'ang-hsi Emperor endorsed it at the time he enfeoffed the first Lčaṅ skya Qutuǧtu[31] attests to conditions prevalent during his reign and to the vitality of the constitutional principle of the crown-clergy partnership. Therefore, however remote the 1620s–1640s and the 1690s–1780s (i.e., the era of the early Manchu-Sa skya pa alliance and the era of the mature Manchu-Dge lugs pa alliance) are from each other, it is important to know that they are linked to a cultural legacy connected with a theoretical organization of the regime. The paradigm of a state ruled by a Bodhisattva or a cakravartin may seem abstruse, yet it mirrored an imperial ideology—whatever the political realities—where a hierarchy of shared religious values and experiences influenced the conduct of political and social relations. While one might object that the first two or three reign periods do not clinch the case for a customary dynastic partnership between ruler and chaplain or its corollary dual principle, an overview reaching through the Ch'ien-lung period presents definite elements of continuity in spiritual values, and from it emerges evidence for imperial confidence in this bond.

Toward that end, the biography of Rol pa'i rdo rje contains significant information relative to the antecedents of, and continuities with, the pre- and early dynastic eras. The text is, in my opinion, illuminated by the author's awareness of the Buddhist heritage of the Manchu ruling house, against which heritage he has measured contemporary eighteenth century devotional acts. Given the nature of this evidence, several events of the mid-Ch'ing period reported in the biography may now be considered in order to see how they accord with the conclusions on imperial conviction in Tibetan Buddhism I have drawn above.

As noted in the text, the Lčaṅ skya Qutuǧtu engaged the emperor in rites which in the lama's thinking had an underlying theological continuity with the court-Buddhism of the Yüan.[32] The Ch'ien-lung Emperor, despite competing demands for his attention, had an abiding interest in the distant origins of his house's support of Tibetan Buddhism. The text contains data for understanding the imperial family's consciousness of its Buddhist heritage and its desire to continue its role, which formally obligated the ruler to uphold the Dharma and protect its institutions:

- In 1743, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor invited the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu and the Abbot of Dga' ldan to his palace at Mukden. They examined and paid their respects to the monastery—the shrines of the body, speech and mind [of the Buddha], and the shrine of the chosen divinity [*thugs dam=yi dam*] of the refuge of sentient beings, 'Phags pa Lama, the image of Mahākāla—and other Buddhist shrines built by the emperor's father, grandfather, and ancestors.[33]
- In 1746, the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu bestowed the Cakrasaṃvara initiation[34] on the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, a rite the Qutuġtu equated with the establishment of the lama-patron relationship begun by Qubilai and 'Phags pa Lama.[35]
- At an unspecified date during the Yung-cheng period (1723–1735), an image of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's father, the Yung-cheng Emperor, depicted as a lama, was installed at the Sung chu Temple, the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu's residence in Peking. This was because the emperor was regarded as the bearer of the crown of the Yellow caps and the Buddha's universal doctrine, as a great lord of religion and the immeasurable compassion he possessed as a lama who had increased ancient (religious) tradition.[36]
- In 1777, the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu held a requiem for the emperor's mother.[37]
- In 1780, he translated at the Ch'ing court for the Panchen Lama, who praised the Ch'ien-lung Emperor as protector of the Yellow Doctrine, and granted him the Mahākāla and Cakrasaṃvara initiations.[38] At that time, the Panchen Lama entrusted the Yellow Doctrine and the protection of the chief monasteries of Tibet to the emperor.[39]

While the underlying historical character of these rites and iconographies remains undetermined, they furnish incontrovertible evidence that the pattern of a religiously-inspired ruling house in effect during pre- and early Ch'ing dynastic times was preserved and even extended and perfected in the Ch'ien-lung period. Nor were such associations with Tibetan Buddhism in any way inconsistent with the Confucian and shamanistic ceremonies held at the Manchu court; similar state ceremonies and animistic rites had been performed at the pro-Buddhist Yüan court. A detailed investigation and sensitive interpretation of the biography promises to reveal more about the contemporary religious attitudes and practices of the Manchu imperial household, its participation in Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies and the general level of Buddhist culture and belief at court.

Even at the present level of research, the specific points relative to court observances, consecrations and iconography extending from pre-dynastic to mid-Ch'ing times indicate that the Manchu imperial household held to a characteristic Buddhist ethos. The existence of this cultural pattern appears comparable to the confidential relationship of crown and clergy that existed under the Yüan. It is not surprising, given the range of these circumstances, that the Manchu ruling house had a positive and unstinting regard for Tibetan Buddhism as a pillar of the regime since the early seventeenth century.

In the areas of the history of the relations of the Manchu sovereigns with Tibetan Buddhism and the religious convictions of the ruling house, to mention just two possible subjects for further study, the biography of the Second Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu serves as a significant source for fruitful work to be done. Cultural and intellectual historians as well as Buddhologists stand in Kämpfe's debt for making this hagiography available.

Glossary

Jen-wang	仁王
Kuo-shih	國師
Lun-wang	輪王
Jen-wang hu kuo po jo po lo mi to Ching	仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經
Lun wang ch'i pao Ching	輪王七寶經
Mindai chibetto hachi dai kyō-ō ni tsuite	明代 チベット八大教王について
Lien-hua Ssu	蓮花寺
La-ma Yüan	喇嘛園
Hou Chin	後金
Naitō Hakase Kanreki Shukuga Shinagaku Ronsō	内 藤 博士還歴祝賀支那學論叢
Ryōyō Rama-fun Hibun no Kaisetsu Hosei	遼陽喇嘛墳碑文の解說補正
Manshū hiki kō	滿洲 碑記考
Chiu Man-chou tang	就滿洲檔
Ta Chin	大金
Ta-Ch'ing li ch'ao shih lu	大清歷朝實錄
Huang T'ai-tzu	皇太子
Seibankan yakugo no kenkyū	西番館譯語の研究
Ta-ch'eng fa wang	大乘法王

Notes

1. Kaschewsky, *Das Leben des lamaistischen heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa (1357–1419) Dargestellt und erläutert anhand seiner Biographie Quellort allen Glückes*, Bonn 1967.

2. David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *HJAS* 38, 1975, 5–25. In opposition to this viewpoint stands the influential divide-and-rule theory pioneered by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, Boston 1967 reprint, p. 219: "The Manchu Empire, intervening in the affairs of the Mongols, 'froze' the development of the Lama church and effected a permanent cleavage between the Mongol state (divided between many princes) and the Mongol church (unified and powerful but not supreme), thus preventing a national unity of all the Mongols." See also ibid., pp. 232–233.

3. Amoghavajra translated the *Jen wang hu kuo po jo po lo mi to Ching Taishō*, no. 246) into Chinese in 765, and Dānapāla, a Tantric active at the court of Sung T'ai-tsung in the late tenth century, translated the *Fo shuo lun wang ch'i pao Ching* (*Taishō*, no. 38).

4. Regarding the onset of Manchu-Dge lugs pa relations in 1637, cf. I.J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Furstenhauses verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordos*, St. Petersburg 1829, (hereafter *Erdeni-yin tobči*), pp. 289/19–291/7.

5. The history of Tibetan missionaries at the pre-dynastic court represents a neglected area of Manchu studies. Farquhar concentrates on the Chinese and Tibeto-Mongol ideological antecedents and their consequences during the dynastic era. Prior to 1637, he observes "no evidence available shows that Buddhism of any kind was a very important religion [to the Manchus]." See, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," p. 20. Walther Heissig, "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century," *Anthropos* 48, 1953, 1–30; 493–537, p. 500, earlier came to a similar conclusion.

6. Cf. Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, Taipei 1970; for Nurhaci see pp. 594–599; regarding Abahai, see pp. 1–3.

7. A review of the early epigraphical sources and architectural monuments provides a point of departure for the study of Tibetan Buddhism in the Ch'ing era; any work on contemporary Sino-Tibetan or Sino-Mongol studies otherwise must remain partial in its reach and conclusions. These undervalued Buddhist historical sources, the Sino-Manchu inscription of 1630 on the outskirts of the pre-dynastic capital at Liao-yang and the quadralingual (Manchu-Mongol-Tibetan-Chinese) inscription of 1638 at Mukden, furnish data regarding the Buddhist principles of organization that contributed to the theoretical development of the Manchu polity. For analyses of these texts, see Oshibuchi, Hajime, "Ryōyō Rama-fun Hibun no Kaisetsu," *Naitō Hakase Kanreki Shukuga Shinagaku Ronsō*, edited by Haneda Tōru, Kyoto 1926, 327–371. See also Oshibuchi's corrections published in "Ryōyō Rama-fun Hibun no Kaisetsu Hosei," *Shirin* 22, 1937, 724–729 and *Manshū hiki ḳō*, Tokyo 1943.

8. The Mongols, especially the Cahars, wielded considerable control over western Manchuria in the 1570's. See *Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 200/9–18. Given Cahar domination of the region for nearly half a century, and Legdan Qaġan's patronage of Šar pa Qutuġtu, the presence of Sa skya pa missionaries in his Manchurian dependencies does not strike me as an unreasonable assumption.

9. The Sino-Manchu Inscription of 1630 commemorates the foundation in 1621 of the La-ma Yüan, a patrimony granted the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama. However, it also refers to the fact that he had initiated the emperor. Presumably, this rite took place during an earlier visit that occurred at an undetermined date. The lama's obituary in the *Chiu Manchou tang* [Early Manchu Archives, hereafter *CMCT*], 1–10, Taipei 1970, v. 2, pp. 1091–1093, dated May 2, 1622 but referring to October 6, 1621, refers to two trips he made to the capital. The same source attests to the fact that Nurhaci promised to build a stupa for the lama's remains.

For present purposes, I regard the most important information found in the 1630 La-ma Yüan stele to be lines 4–5 of the Chinese text, which run:

> [4] .... As soon as [the lama] reached our nation, he
> [5] met with T'ai-tsu Huang-ti (Nurhaci) who honored his ritual and revered the master, (thereafter) diversely and habitually supporting him.

The monument, to my way of thinking, represents as clear an expression of the reality of the lama-patron relationship as one is ever likely to find in a Buddhist document meant for secular purposes. Despite his zeal to build a state, Nurhaci took care to exempt clerical property and personnel from taxes and corvée. This arrangement, demonstrated further by the lama's Manchu title *darhan* (<Mong. *darqan* "tax-free"), had its roots in medieval Mongol-Sa skya pa practices.

The emperor's initiation into the Tibetan rite drew on a long line of Tibeto-Mongol historical antecedents. For theoretical reasons, I wish to draw attention to the existence of the concept associated with conversion to Tantric Buddhism, the formal relationship between the convert and his religious master, the so-called *mčhod yon* "lama-patron" relationship. The establishment of a religious bond called for the faithful's compliance with two obligations: 1) the religious subordination of the initiate to his teacher, and 2) the neophyte's liability for his teacher's material well-being. Nurhaci undoubtedly complied with the second of these two ties. For remarks concerning various aspects of the lama-patron relationship, see Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Roma 1970, pp. 95–97; D.L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himālaya*, Oxford 1957, p. 196. Concerning the notion of royal consecration, cf. the latter's article "The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism," in *The Sacral Kingship*, Leiden 1959, pp. 204–218; also see Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā*, Berkeley 1973, pp. 67–68.

10. The text of the 1658 inscription at La-ma Yüan and the Manchu annals serve to establish the fact that the court provided an estate for the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama. Moreover, analysis of the form *olug* and the translations of it in the collateral Mongol (*yeke*), Manchu (*amba*), and Chinese (*ta*) epigraphical sources (cf. notes 7 and 9) as "great" serve to identify the word as the Manchu transcription of the Turkic form(s) *olug~ulug*. (Cf. Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 139, *uluğ* "'greatness' both physical and in [an] abstract moral sense: 'seniority' and the like.'") The presence of this epithet among the lama's titles taken in conjuction with his designation in the annals as a Tanggūt (or a Tibetan, according to the Chinese text of the 1630 inscription) indicate Amdo or the Tibetanized Uighur communities of Western Kansu as his place of origin and point toward his possible Turkic ancestry. Given the significant body of evidence that Uighur Buddhism had received heavy doses of Tantric influences since Yüan times, I do not find the likelihood of an Uighur lama preaching Tibetan Buddhism problematical. In fact, one encounters the term *uluğ* qualifying the names and titles of a number of Sa skya pa dignitaries during the Yüan period. For attestations in the literary sources, see George Kara and Peter Zieme, *Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uighurischer Übersetzung*, Berlin 1976, pp. 76 and 110: "Ulug Ṣisrap (<Tib. Šes rab) baxsi." As a point of departure for the Uighur translation literature of Tibetan Buddhism, see their editions of the *Lam zab mo bla ma'i mal 'byor* in *Die uighurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas "Tiefer Weg" von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, Berlin 1977, and *Ein uighurisches Totenbuch. Nāropas Lehre in Uighurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang British Museum Or. 8212 (109)*, Budapest 1978. See also, Kara's "Uiguro-Tibetica," in *Proceedings if the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium held at Mátrafüred, Hungary 24–30 September 1976*, edited by Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1978, 161–167, especially p. 162.

The Manchu form *nangso* is a transcription of the Mongol loanword *nangso* (<Tib. *naṅ so*). According to Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols., Roma 1949, v. 1, p. 35, it represents an abbreviation of the compound form *naṅ so chen mo*, a title characteristic of the Mongol-Sa skya pa alliance of the Yüan period. In an edict of Gyantse, cited by Tucci, the highest official of the medieval state was the *naṅ so*:

> [This] dignity, in its administrative organization, was certainly modelled on the Sa skya pa's organization of the state; the Gyantse princes for several generations had

> held the office of Naṅ c'en, i.e. Naṅ so c'en mo [the Grand Naṅ so] at the Sa skya pa court. But from the Dalai Lama's biographies we see that this office was also found in other states [1949. l. 43], and in fact continued ancient traditions. The Naṅ so presided over the administration of justice [Gyantse genealogies, p. 34], and was sort of Prime Minister; the King's or the abbot's orders were made executive by this official, who naturally was also their first counselor.... Round the sovereigns, whether they were the Sa skya pa abbots or the P'ag mo gru pa's or the lords of the Gyantse (and in lesser measure, round all the families with any territorial jurisdiction), a petty court was gathered, headed by these Naṅ so...

These attributes roughly characterize the office of those dignitaries who bore the title *nangso* at the various Mongol courts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and relate equally well to the *nangsos* resident at the courts of Nurhaci and Abahai. Hypothetically, the use of the Uighur-Sa skya pa elements *olug* and *nangso* in the compound clerical title of Nurhaci's chaplain permits one to pose the question whether the lama the Manchus officially credited with initiating the emperor was a Sa skya pa missionary. The career of the Olug, a contemporary of the Sa skya pa Šar pa Qutuġtu, provides complementary material for the study of missionary activities during this epoch. The sect's preeminence at the Cahar court since 1617 and its proselytizing efforts in the east (cf. notes 8, 12 and 14) are further cases in point. In my opinion, the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama's work in Manchuria should be seen within the larger framework of the Sa skya pa missionary history of the early seventeenth century. This makes sense inasmuch as no contemporary Manchu evidence has emerged concerning a sustained Dge lugs pa mission farther eastward than Western Manchuria prior to the activities of Neyici Toyin (who went to Mukden twice between 1629 and 1644). Alternately, Tibeto-Mongol documentary and literary evidence contains no reference to Manchu-Dge lugs pa contacts prior to the 1637 embassy of the Ilaġuġsan Qutuġtu to Mukden (see n. 4). Further descriptions of cultic activities presented in this paper make it clear that elements of Sa skya pa organization (rather than Dge lugs pa features) were increasingly favored at Mukden in the 1630s and 1640s. As a result, the immediate precondition for Manchu acceptance of the introduction of the Sa skya pa tradition, I suggest, is best explained by ascribing the Olug to the sect's lineage.

Another interesting facet of what appears to be Sa skya pa intellectual and literary influence on the Manchu elite is the reference in Manchu sources dated 1636 to the *Subasitai bithe* (i.e., the *Subhāsitaratnanidhi* of Sa skya Pandita), see *MWLT*, vol. VII, p. 1523.

11. Judging from the facts that the lama had catechized the emperor and received state support in return, it seems indisputable that Tantric Buddhism had gained Nurhaci's trust. This interpretation is further strengthened by the inscription (Manchu line 1/Chinese line 1) that identifies the Olug Darhan Nangso as the Lama of the *Ayisin/Ta Chin* Nation, a title reminiscent of the status of state Buddhism during the period of the medieval Mongol-Sa skya pa alliance and indicative of the fact that national as well as personal religious relations were thought to be at stake in furnishing support for Tibetan Buddhism. Correspondingly, given the information surveyed here, it becomes possible to establish a connection between imperial consecration, patronage and Nurhaci's dynastic ambitions. For further information regarding this type of connection, cf. notes 13–14, 15–19, 21–23, 25, and 28.

12. The establishment of the Lien-hua Ssu (supposedly a reconsecrated temple dating from T'ang times) coincided with Sa skya pa missionary activities that took place under the direction of Šar pa Qutuġtu (see the Tibeto-Mongol inscription of 1626, Pozdneyev, v. 2, p. 255, cf. notes 8 and 14). During the reigns of the first two Manchu emperors, the temple remained dependent on imperial generosity, first securing an estate, the Lama Yüan, and then the produce and labor from a peasant hamlet for its support. Subsequently, Abahai's commitment to the material support his father had promised the Buddhist community at La-ma Yüan, the details of which were formalized during his own reign, brought him into contact with the successor of the Olug, Baga ba (<Tib. 'Phags pa) Lama.

13. While no direct evidence points to a role for the Olug at the enthronement of Nurhaci, definite elements of a Buddhist policy can be detected in the emperor's conduct in the years following his induction (see notes 9, 11 and 14). As described in the documentary sources, the Manchu lords raised Nurhaci as emperor, *Han* (i.e., *Khan*), in 1616, after which Manchu sources refer to him by the title Genggiyen Han. Comparative study of Tibeto-Mongol imperial tradition furnishes instructive material regarding the Manchu title *genggiyen* and leads me to suggest that it can be explained in terms of the theoretical requirements of Buddhist initiation. The vocable *genggiyen* "clear, bright" should be compared with the Mongol forms *gegen gegegen "clarté, éclat... titre d'un saint personage (khoutouktou),"* Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Kazan 1844–1849, p. 2495. Precedents for the Buddhist usage of the title *Gegen Qaġan*, the agnomen of the Yüan emperor and patron of Tibetan Buddhism, *Siddhipala, as well as the sixteenth century Türned ruler and Dge lugs pa patron, Altan Gegen Hakan (=Qaġan), occur in the *Hor chos 'byuṅ* of 'Jig med rig pa'i rdo rje. (G. Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strassburg 1892–1896, 2 vols, v. 1, pp. 36 and 57.) The Mongol form *gegen* by its definition and application has a distinctive Buddhist connotation as a *mtshan* "ordination name." One need only note that such titles were conveyed at the time of imperial investiture to see that they have religio-dynastic connotations. The *Hor chos 'byuṅ*, v. 1, p. 24 lines 9–11, relates the ascendancy of *Siddhipala in the following terms: (9)... de'i sras šuddhephal chu yos (10) lo ba dguṅ lo bcu dgu'i thog rgyal sar 'khod pa la ge gen rgyal po žes (11) mtshan btags pa, "His (i.e. Buyantu Qagan's) son, Siddhipala, born the Water-Hare year (1302), was established on the throne at the age of nineteen, and given the *mtshan* (ordination name) Gegan Rgyal po [i.e., 'King Gegen,' or *Gegen Khan]." For further examples of imperial ordination names, e.g., the Qaġans Buyantu and Külüg, bestowed at the time when Mongol sovereigns took power, cf. Huth, v. 1, p. 24. (Also see Louis Ligeti, "Notes sur le colophon du 'Yitikan Sudur,'" in *Asiatica* edited by Johannes Schubert, Leipzig 1954, 397–404, pp. 401–403 for the reconstruction of the name *Siddhipala.) For the definition of *mtshan*, see Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Delhi 1970 reprint, p. 1036, "resp. for *ming* 'name,' esp. the new name which everyone receives that takes orders." The fact that during the Yüan dynasty ordination names were bestowed at the time of imperial investiture indicates Tibetan Buddhist authorities had more than an advisory role in imperial politics, their ceremonial ratification being a necessary component of the induction rite. In the case of Nurhaci, it may serve to explain why—because of his initiation—the first Manchu emperor felt compelled to promote the Olug Darhan Nangso Lama to an important benefice just outside his capital. Beyond the suggestion that the Manchu form *genggiyen* mirrors Nurhaci's Buddhist ordination recorded in the 1630 Sino-Manchu inscription, perhaps the best measure of Mongol (as well as Buddhist) influence on the Manchu institution of emperor is the preeminent place Mongol titles held in the pre- and early dynastic Manchu scheme of things. See notes 20, 24 and 25 for additional references.

14. On the basis of the material discussed so far (cf. n. 11), the existence of the lama-patron relationship at court indicates Nurhaci attached a higher importance to this act than a mere demonstration of imperial largesse. Reference to contemporary comparative material, i.e., the Tibeto-Mongol inscription of 1626 at the Čaġan Suburġan, site of Legdan Qaġan's capital and the spiritual center of the Sa skya pa-Mongol renaissance, provides some instructive material for interpreting the Sino-Manchu sources and showing Nurhaci's motivation for becoming a Buddhist. According to the Mongol version of the 1626 inscription, an imperial patron could have compelling reasons for subsidizing a stupa's construction and adornment (Pozdneyev, v. 2, p. 257/5):

> dörben dib-i ergsigči cagravardi gaġan bolun burqan-u šasin-i barigči öglige-yin eǰen-i basa basa bolqu boltuġai:
>
> May he again and again become the ruler of the four continents, the cakravartin and the adherent of Buddhism, the donor (dānapati)...

The pertinent idea appearing in these lines demonstrates that contemporary Tibeto-Mongol canonical writers believed patronage, appropriately conducted, benefitted the imperial donor in postulating an assertion for dominion, setting him within the heritage of princely believers stretching back to Aśoka, and, whatever his pedigree, theoretically furnishing him with claims of authenticity to govern as a world ruler, a cakravartin. In the case of Nurhaci, it sanctified the Manchu ruler's dignity, raising him near the level of his Mongol rivals, and gave him the ideological basis for consolidating his realm. This charismatic power based on traditional Tibeto-Mongol prototypes, needless to say, would have been impossible without the presence of the Tibetan Buddhist establishment at his court.

The Čaġan suburġan inscription further attests to the central place of the idea of conquest and dominion and its religious sanction in contemporary Tibeto-Mongol political thought (Pozdneyev, v. 2, pp. 254/24–255/25); [the text within brackets was restored by Pozdneyev on the basis of the parallel Tibetan text]

> ...kitad nangġiyad terigüten öber öber keleten-ü olan [orun-i ǰiluġudču qan törü-yi delgeregülügsen:]...blam-a öglige-yin eǰen bolun barilduġsan-a sitüǰü:...bey-e ǰarliġ sedkil sitügen-i bayiġulqu quvaraġ-un ayimaġ sin-e mandaġulqu terigüten šasin-u lingqu-a yin čečeglig asuru yekede negelgen ǰokiyaġsan
>
> ...[Legdan Qaġan] lead the Jurchen, Chinese and many other lands of different languages and expanded the empire.... After [he and Šar pa Qutuġtu] had cherished one another to become lama and patron, he venerated [the lama].... Building shrines of the body, speech and mind [of the Buddha], he re-established the clergy and so forth and extensively implemented and developed the lotus of the doctrine...

15. The exchange of honors and titles between rulers and their chaplains as cakravartins and lords of religion reflects a distinctive feature of the claim of dynastic right. Without going into the details that the subject deserves, note the example of the consecration of Qubilai in 1264, at which time he granted 'Phags pa Lama the title Nom-un qaġan, "Dharma-king," in return for the designation Mingġan altan kürdün-i ergigülügči cagravard sečen qaġan "Cakravartin who turns 1000 golden wheels. Sečen Qaġan" [*Erdeni-yin tobči*, pp. 116/18 and 118/7–8]. To this can be added the exchange of titles between the Tümed lord, Altan Qaġan and the Dge lugs pa hierarch Bsod nams Rgya-mtsho in 1578: mingġan altan kürdün-i ergigülügči cagravar-d sečen qaġan and vačir-a dhara dalai lam-a, "Cakravartin who turns 1000 Golden wheels, Sečen Qaġan", and the "Vajradhara Dalai Lama" [*Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 263/1–5, whence stems the title Dalai Lama. Furthermore, in 1614, the Ordos prince Bošuġ-tu J̌inong granted Mayidari Qutuġtu the title Yekede Asaraġči nom-un qaġan, "Rgya čhen Byam pa Dharma-king", receiving in return the title Altan kürdün-i ergigülügči cagravard sečen ǰinong qaġan "Cakravartin who turns the golden wheel, Sečen J̌inong and Qaġan" [*Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 264/7–12]. For additional instances of this custom, cf. notes 9 and 11. In conjunction with the Buddhist renaissance, the institution of cakravartin monarchy diffused among the various Mongol khanates (e.g., Tumet, Ordos, Cahar) during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The theoretical organization of these theologically-inspired domains in terms other than the lama-patron relation between sovereign and chaplain, however, remains undefined.

One encounters evidence that the Manchus followed a similar course of action when in the late 1640s they renewed an invitation to the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama to come to Peking. According to the 1651 inscription of the Sara süm-e at Peking (Manchu inscription, line 5): lama-de nomon han-i gebu bufi, "[The Shun-chih Emperor] granted the title of Dharma-king to the [Dalai] Lama." For the transcription of the text, see Franke, "Die dreisprachige Grundunginschrift des 'Gelben Temples' zu Peking aus dem Jahre 1651," *ZDMG* 114, 1964, 391–412, p. 392. See n. 29 below for additional comments regarding the formation of Manchu-Dge lugs pa relations.

16. A direct consequence of Abahai's triumph over the Cahar was the extension of the dual-monarchy (i.e., the Manchu sovereign as ruler of Manchus and Mongols) assisted by the Tüsiyetü Qaġan (Assistant Emperor). Nurhaci and his Korcin ally Aoba Tayiǰi had devised this dispensation in 1626 (cf. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 304). Their settlement cleared the way for a similar arrangement under Abahai which guaranteed that Manchu authority would be imposed on the defeated subjects of Legdan Qaġan. In this respect, the expansion of the dual-monarchy coincided with the founding of the Temple of Mahākāla at Mukden. The creation of a suitable sanctuary for the Buddhist deity, relics, religious texts and the retention of the Cahar-Sa skya pa hierarchy and its organizations mark the attempt to validate the Manchu victory and expanded rule. For additional comments regarding this monument, cf. notes 19–23 and 25.

17. Cf. note 25.

18. Klaus Sagaster has described this relation and its implications in his monograph *Die Weisse Geschichte. Eine mongolische Quelle zur Lehre von den Beiden Ordnungen Religion und Staat in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Weisbaden 1976.

19. The 1638 inscription commemorates the foundation of the Mahākāla Temple. For present purposes, I have corrected the misprints in the published version of the Manchu text (lines 5–9) established by Oshibuchi, *Manshū hiki kō*, pp. 135–140, and retranscribed it in conformity with the Hauer system of transcription:

> (5) ...dai yuwan gurun-i (6) sitsu hūbilai sure han-i fonde pakspa lama minggan yan ayisin-be gur mahag'ala fungkerefi u-tai-šan alin-de jukteki amala sisiya bade gamaji juktehe jai šarba hutuktu lama (7) soolifi dai yuwan gurun-i enen cahar-i lingdan han-i gurun-de gajifi juktehe dayicing gurun-i (8) gosin onco hūwaliyasun enduringge han cahar gurun-be dayilame efulefi gurun irgen gemu dahame jidere-de mergen lama mahag'ala-be gajime dahame jidere-be (9) enduringge han donjifi lama-se-be dorolome okdombufi mukden hecen-i wargi-de ilibufi...

Paraphrasing the main points of the tradition recorded in the inscription, it appears that the Manchus deliberately preserved elements of continuity with the Mongol-Sa skya pa heritage when they began to build the site in 1635: 'Phags pa Lama had cast the golden image of Gur Mahākāla, made it an offering at Wu-tai Shan, and later moved it to the Hsi-hsia (i.e., Tanggūt) land. Subsequently, Šar pa Qutuġtu brought the image to the descendant of the Yüan, Legdan Qaġan of the Cahars, who paid homage to it. Mergen Lama [=Mañjuśrī Paṇḍita], following Abahai's defeat of the Cahars and their subordination, brought the image with him [to Mukden]. The emperor heard of it, had the lama welcome it and founded the temple west of Mukden.

Regarding the identification of Mahākāla as the tutelary genius of the Sa skya pa, see Mireille Helffer, "Traditions musicales des Sa-skya-pa relatives au culte de Mgon-po," *JA* 264, 1976, 357–404, pp. 360, n. 13, and 376, n. 87. Heissig, "Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism," p. 499 has interpreted Mongol data surrounding this event. For further references to Mahākāla worship, see notes 15, 20–22, 26 and 36.

20. The entry in the *CMCT*, v. 10, p. 4605/2–8, dated February 12, 1636, records that Abahai, his brother Dayisan, and their Mongol ally, the Korcin Prince Jasaġ-tu Dügereng participated in a mandala ceremony at which they venerated the image of Mahākāla Buddha. The relevant portion of the text, line 8, reads: fucihi juleri jafafi han: amba beyile: jasaġ-tu dügereng-be gayifi uyunggeri niyakūrafi: uyunggeri hengkilehe: "...offering [ritual objects] before [the image of Mahākāla] Buddha, the Emperor led the Grand Prince [Dayisan] and Jasaġ-tu ügereng to bow and prostrate themselves nine times." Regarding the identification of the Amba Beyile Dayisan, cf. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 1 and 214. The Manchus and their Korcin allies took the Mahākāla consecration of 1264 (in which 'Phags pa Lama had initiated Qubilai as a cakravartin) as the prestigious antecedent for this rite. For further remarks, cf. Walther Heissig, *Altan kürdün mingġan gegesütü bicig, eine Mongolische Chronik von Siregetü Guosi Dharma (1739)*, Kopenhagen 1958, III 6r/8–6v/4. Also see n. 15 above concerning the exchange of titles between Qubilai and 'Phags pa Lama. In addition, see notes 18, 20 and 21.

21. As remarked in n. 20, the *CMCT* specifically refers to the veneration shown by members of the imperial household to the image of Mahākāla which the Sa skya pa Lama, Mañjuśrī Paṇḍita [=Mergen Lama], had brought to Mukden on February 2, 1635. A Chinese source, the *Ta-ch'ing li ch'ao shih-lu* Vol. 4, *chüan* 43, 10a-b, records that Abahai led a grand procession of Manchu and Mongol dignitaries to the Mahākāla sanctuary on September 19, 1638. According to Oshibuchi, Biligtü Nangso Lama conducted the emperor to the Buddha image where they led the assembly to perform the kowtow ceremony. Cf. Oshibuchi, *Manshū kiki kō*, p. 154. Herbert Franke notes that "rites connected with Hevajra

and Mahākāla had been customary for the enthronements of the Yüan emperors." See his article "Tibetans in Yüan China," in *China under Mongol Rule*, edited by John D. Langlois, Jr., Princeton 1981, 296–328, p. 308. Regarding the actual ceremony of investiture, cf. Franke, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Chinas unter der Mongolenherrschaft. Das Shan-chu hsin-hua des Yang Yü*, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 30–31. With respect to the manifestations and iconography of Mahākāla, see Shinkō Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, Tokyo 1960–1963, v. 4, pp. 3216–3218; B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta 1958, pp. 344–348.

Farquhar, in his article "The Origins of the Manchus' Mongolian Policy," in *The Chinese World Order* (edited by John K. Fairbank, Cambridge 1970, 198–205), p. 199, observes that the early Manchu emperors appear to have derived their titles from prestigious Mongol prototypes. For example, in 1607, Nurhaci received his title *Kundulen Han* (<Mong. *Kündelen Qaġan*, "Respected Emperor") from the Kalka prince Enggeder. Nor was this an isolated case. Abahai, the name by which Nurhaci's successor is popularly known, is a form unattested in Manchu sources. The word, in fact, is a loanword from Mongol *Abaġai* "nom respectueux donné aux aines par l'âge ou la parenté: titre des fils cadets d'un monarque ou prince héréditaire" (Kowalewski, p. 41) and thus accords perfectly with his Manchu title *Hung Taiji* (<Ch. Huang T'ai-tzu) as it appears in the Sino-Manchu sources. Perhaps most significantly, when Abahai received the homage of the forty-nine Mongol beiles in 1636, it was they who bestowed upon him the Manchu title *Gosin onco hūwaliyasun enduringge han* and its Mongol prototype *Aġuda örüsiyegči dagedü erdemtü nayiramataġu boġda qaġan* as emperor of the Dayicing, and not the Manchu or Chinese officials. For further remarks on the forty-nine lords of the sixteen Mongol tribes who proclaimed Abahai emperor, see Louis Ligeti, "Deux tablettes des T'ai-tsong des Ts'ing," *AOH* 8, 1958, 201–239, pp. 213 and 235, n. 57.

22. Everyone who has treated the question agrees that the Manchu word *dayicing* and the Mongol loan word *dayičing* convey the Chinese dynastic title *Ta-ch'ing* (normally pronounced *Tai-ch'ing* in the seventeenth century; moreover, despite modern usage it should be noted that during the life of the dynasty, the title was apparently never used without the first part, *Tai-/Ta-*). Given the context of the Mahākāla consecration (see notes 19–20) and associated Buddhist ceremonies that had preceded the inauguration of the dynasty on May 14, 1636, I wish to draw attention to the transcription of another Mongol form with the identical orthography *dayičing*. Close analysis confirms the foreignness of the word which does not come from a Mongol root, does not conform to the language's principles of word formation and is unattested in Middle Mongol linguistic monuments. However, evidence exists that the Chinese word may have entered Mongol from a Tibetan intermediary attested in the mid-fifteenth century materials edited by Tatsuo Nishida, *Seibankan yakugo no kenkyū* [= *The Tibetan-Chinese Vocabulary of the Hsi-Fan Kuan I-yü*] Kyoto 1970: Document II, Chinese Text, p. 124 *Ta-ch'eng fa wang* / Tibetan text, p. 124 *Dai-čhiṅ hwa waṅ* "Dharma-king of the Great Vehicle." The bilingual petition shows the scribe rendered the Chinese compound *ta-ch'eng* (or *tai-ch'eng*) "great vehicle," a calque of the Sanskrit term *Mahāyāna*, by the Tibetan phonetic transcription *dai-čhiṅ*, a form neither Jäschke nor Das registers. (Cf. Ernest J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, Amsterdam 1970 reprint of the 1904 edition, p. 90, Mahāyāna (=*ta-ch'eng*) "lit. great conveyance.... A later form of Buddhist dogma, one of the three phases of its development (v. *triyāna*), corresponding to the third degree of saintship, the state of a Bodhisattva, who being able to transport himself to Nirvana, may be com-*Chinese Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*, London, 1937, p. 83.)

First conferred on the Sa skya hierarch Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mtshan in 1413, the Ming court made the title *dai-čhin/ta-ch'eng* the exclusive right of his successors who served as abbots of the Lha khaṅ branch of the Sa skya sect. (For the full title and intricate problems associated with its history, see Satō Hisashi, "Mindai chibetto hachi tai kyō-ō ni tsuite," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 21, 1962, 51–170, pp. 63–64. A check of the seventeenth century Mongolian chronicle, the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 198/6–7 attests to the Mongol form as an element in the compound name for Buyangġulai duġar dayičing (b. 1526). A further occurrence of the Mongol vocable *dayičing* confirms the Sino-Tibetan usage of the fifteenth century. At the 1625 consecration of Toba Tayiǰi as ruler of the Ordos, Saġang Sečen recorded the titles the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama awarded the spiritual lords who accompanied the prince to Tibet. Next in importance after Toba Tayiǰi was Res rdog Čhos rǰe whom they invested with the title *dayičing* (*Erdeni-yin Tobči*, p. 276/8–9): ...resrdog čorǰi-da toġuluġsan dayičing čorǰi... kemekü čola-yi öggün: "[The Panchen Erdeni and the Dalai Lama] gave the title called... the Perfected *Dayičing* Čhos rǰe to Res rdog Čhos rǰe..." The details relative to the religious investiture of Toba Tayiǰi as ruler of the Ordos Mongols and the conferral of titles by the officiating Dge lugs pa prelates favor, in my opinion, a Buddhist interpretation for the Mongol form *dayičing*. As in the case of the mannered clerical titles the Ming court awarded Tibetan lamas (cf. Nishida 1970, Documents, I–XXX, pp. 123–152), the Dge lugs pa title reserved for Res rdog Čhos rǰe seems appropriate to his high religious standing. Saġang Sečen's use of the form *dayičing* as an epithet is appropriate to the Čhos rǰe's status as an incarnated Bodhisattva, and is consistent with the way Eitel defined the term. The use of Dge lugs pa rites in Tibet to enthrone Toba Tayiji and the honorary elevation of his chaplain clearly justifies the assumption of a Tibetan intermediary for the Mongol word. (For other instances of the reciprocal award of titles between secular and spiritual lords, cf. n. 16 above.) Moreover, the circumstances demonstrate the currency of the term in a Tibeto-Mongol context a little more than a decade before the founding of the Ta-ch'ing dynasty. What this all goes to show is that Tibetans and Mongols might have been well-disposed to a dynasty that to their understanding proclaimed itself the Dayičing (Tib. *dai-chiṅ*~Mong. *dayičing*) "Great Vehicle" dynasty. While these remarks may or may not prove the etymology of the Manchu form, it is important to note that the Manchus seemed never to have made an attempt to clarify for the Tibetans and Mongols the possible religious meaning of their dynastic title.

23. See notes 9 and 11.

24. The Sa skya pa Lama Biligtü Nangso, according to the *Ta-ch'ing-li ch'ao shih lu*, v. 13, ch. 21, 20a–b, received Kun dga' 'od zer, i.e., Mañjuśrī Paṇḍita [=Mergen Lama], who in 1635 had brought with him to Mukden the image of Mahākāla and the *Kanjur*.

Regarding the symbolism of the mandala with cakravartin rulers cf. J. Przyluski, "La Ville du Cakravartin," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 5, 1927, 165–185; Snellgrove, "Divine Kingship," p. 213.

25. Johannes Schubert, "Die viersprachige Inschrift des buddhistischen Klosters Fa lun szu in Mukden," *Artibus Asiae* 5, 1930–1935, pp. 71–75; 251–255. My transcription is based on the Mongolian text of the foundation inscription of 1645 for the Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lha khaṅ (Ch. Fa-lun ssu), plate 3, p. 74:

> 1) dorun-a tu tala dur esergülegčid-i daraqui-yin tulada bayiġuluġsan: teyin büged geyigülügči-yin süm-e: [lines 7–8] "The [Rnam par snaṅ ba'i lha khaṅ] Temple of Vairocana which we have established in the eastern quarter in order to subdue the resistors..." 2) emün-e tü tala dur qamuġ amitan-i engke amuġulang bolǧaǰu: tariya toǧosu qaraǧaqu-yin tulada bayiġuluġsan: yeke nigülesügči-yin süm-e: [lines 8–9] "The [Thugs rǰe čhen po'i lha khaṅ] Temple of Mahākaruṇa which we have established in the southern quarter in order to purposely watch over crops thereby putting all living beings at ease..." 3) örün-e tü tala dur amin nasun urtudqu-yin tulada bayiġuluġsan: ṇasun čaġlasi-ügei-yin süm-e: [line 10] "The [Tshe dpag med mgon gyi lha khan] Temple of Amitāyus which we have established in the western quarter in order to prolong life..." 4) umar-a tu tala dur qan orun-i oǧuǧata orusiqulqu-yin tulada bayiġuluġsan: čaġ-un kürdün süm-e: [lines 11–12] "The [Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lha khaṅ] Temple of Kālacakra which we have established in the northern quarter in order to command the realm..."

For the medieval rites of Mahākāla worship and Mongol emperorship, cf. n. 20.

26. This testament of Buddhist faith, an expression of belief corroborated by the inventory of architectural monuments, set the pre-dynastic Manchu capital together with the residence of the Manchu cakravartin firmly within the Buddhist cultural tradition.

Moreover, the meticulous application of the lama-patron relation since at least 1621 shows, in effect, that Tibetan Buddhism played a major role in the exaltation of the early Manchu sovereigns, their consolidation of the state according to religious principles established during the Yüan dynasty, and their conscious succession to the legacy of the medieval Mongol Empire. I cannot here demonstrate the filiation of ideas needed to prove Manchu reliance on Mongol-Sa skya pa patterns of state. It must suffice to say that Manchu acceptance of these ideas, which bound medieval Mongol Buddhism with the religious revival of the Buddhist Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is clearly not gratuitous, and goes a long way to explain why the Manchus had a vested interest in the promotion of the doctrine. For a preliminary assessment of the Manchu monarchy's continuation of the Mongol-Sa skya pa conception of religio-political organization, see my dissertation, "The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch'ing dynasty: Texts and Studies on the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden," Bloomington 1980.

27. I.e., the Sa skya pa lamas, Mañjuśrī Paṇḍita and Biligtü Nangso Lama, and the Dge lugs pa envoy at Mukden, the Ilaġuġsan Qutuġtu.

28. Robert B. Oxnam, *Ruling from Horseback, Manchu Politics in the Oboi Regency, 1661–1669*, Chicago 1975, pp. 47–49, has characterized the years 1651–1653—the time of the Dalai Lama's mission to Peking—as a "period of intense factional rivalry" and "among the fiercest and most complex in the early Ch'ing." The death of Dorgon late in 1650 allowed his cousin, Jirgalang, to move against the Dorgon faction and other groups seeking to dismember imperial power. By mid-1652, he had overcome these centrifugal elements and succeeded in transforming the Shun-chih Emperor's nominal rule to one of actual control over the government.

29. In January 1653 the Dalai Lama arrived at Peking, the Panchen Lama having declined repeated invitations because of his advanced age. For the two generations preceding formal Manchu-Dge lugs pa relations, the throne had shown keen interest in Tibetan Buddhism and had made it a key part of the religious and cultural life of the court. This fact together with subsequent actions taken by the throne run counter to the received interpretation that the Manchus had invited the Dge lugs pa to Peking to present tribute. According to Saġang Sečen [*Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 296/12–151, the emperor on this occasion substantiated the "rule of the saints" by supporting Tibetan Buddhism and venerating the Dge lugs pa prelates as his religious masters:

> (12) . . . ilaġuġsan čidaġčin-u (13) erketü-yin šasin-i ülemǰi tedkün: ilaġuġsan-u köbegün qamuġ-i medegči-yi orui-yin (14) čimeg bolġan tabiġlaǰu: amitan-u itegel boġda bančin erdeni-yi ečin-e eče lam-a bariġad: (15) burqan-u šasin-i ülemǰi-de tedkün boġdas-un törü-yi asuru tübsidken bayiġulǰu:
>
> [The Shun-chih Emperor] abundantly supported the Jina's religion of the powerful saints and venerated the son of the Jina, the Omniscient [Dalai Lama], as the orna- ment of his sinciput. He cherished the Lama in the absence of the Refuge of Sentient Beings, the Boġda Panchen Erdeni, giving protection to the Superior of the Buddhist religion [i.e. the Dalai Lama], and firmly established, to a high degree, the rule of the saints.

The account of the emperor's recognition of the Dge lugs pa hierarchs and doctrine calls to mind not only the formal features of the regimes of his predecessors and their Sa skya chaplains but the whole tradition of Tibeto-Mongol acknowledgements between state and faith up to that time (see n. 15). The titles the parties exchanged as a result of this mission suggest a set of conditions consistent with the tradition of mutual recognition. The Dalai Lama received the title *Rdo rje 'čhaṅ* ("Vajradhara") and the Shun-chih Emperor took the title *Gnam gyi lha 'Jam dbyaṅs goṅ ma bdag po chen po* ("God of the Sky, Great Mañjughoṣa-Emperor and Great Being"). (See Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet, A Political History*, New Haven 1967, p. 116; cf Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," p. 20, n. 49; Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 268.) The point is, of course, that the establishment of this personal religious bond followed a definite cultural model and institutional structure that had come directly from Sa skya pa inspiration. When the pre-dynastic pattern of crown and clergy relations is compared with the Dge lugs pa exaltation of the role of the emperor and his chaplain over other segments of society, they are seen to resemble each other closely. This state of affairs takes on added significance since it coincides exactly with Jirgalang's centralization of authority within imperial hands. At the same time, the reasons for Jirgalang's substitution of a Dge lugs pa ratification of his house's dynastic right in place of the Sa skya pa legitimation remains unclear. The sectarian realignment coincides with his attempt to dissociate the ruler from the aristocratic factionalism of the day. The Sa skya pa, as they had toward the end of the Yüan, may have become embroiled in partisan causes bringing discredit to themselves and ultimately forcing the throne to reject them. This view, however, remains speculative pending further research into the question of the earliest period of Manchu-Dge lugs pa relations.

30. For a brief discussion of a fairly widespread Chinese Buddhist sect that traces its origins to the Tibetan Tantric Buddhism of the Sa skya pas introduced during the Yüan and, as we have seen, perpetuated in Dge lugs pa form by the Ch'ing, see Christopher I. Beckwith, "A Hitherto Unnoticed Yüan-Period Collection Attributed to 'Phagspa." in L. Ligeti (edited), *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, v. 1, Budapest, 1984, pp. 10–11.

31. The Manchus attempted to set the institutionalization of the relationship between the K'ang-hsi Emperor and the first Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu in an appropriate historical context when they established the Qutuġtu's see at Dolon Nor. The foundation charter of 1714 records the submission of the Kalka Mongols to the emperor in 1691 in the following terms (Pozdneyev, *Mongolia*, v. 2, p. 188/5–8):

> tayitsu tayitsung boġda kelekü tobčiy-a yi bariǰu örüsiyel erke yin kürdün-i orčiġuluġsan-iyar monggol ulus-un olan ayimaġ-ud ulam ǰerge ber ünen sanaġ-a ber daġan örübei
>
> Because T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung, cherishing the relations which the [Buddhist] saints expressed, turned the wheel of compassion and power, many tribes of the Mongol nation gradually and earnestly offered their submission.

Viewed against the background of pre- and early Ch'ing dynastic devotion, such tributes to imperial advocacy of Buddhist ideals of state and faith correctly relate the evolution of this tendency to the reigns of the founding sovereigns. Statements of this sort often appeared in foundation charters. Albeit formulaic, they obviously had historical validity.

32. Kämpfe, p. 35.

33. Ibid. p. 34; I have paraphrased the Mongol text (60a/11–23):
(11) tendeče qaraġčin (12) qaġai ǰil-dur: mañǰuśri (13) boġda eǰen ber: mügden (14) kemekü ordu qarsidaġan (15) ǰalaraǰu: tere ečige ebüge (16) degedüsün bayiğuluq̣san keyid (17) süm-e: bey-e ǰarliġ sedkil-ün sedkisi-ügei (18) sitügen-üd ba: amitan-u (19) itegel 'bags ba blama-a yin (20) tügs dam-un sitügen maha (21) gala-yin körüg bey-e (22) terigüten dotuğadu sitügen-üd- (23) degen ayiladču mörgüged: barağ-a bolǰu morilalčagsan.

34. Regarding this initiation, see n. 38.

35. The biographer asserts that the Lčaṅ skya Qutuġtu recalled this event when he wrote the biography of 'Phags pa Lama. For additional remarks cf. Kämpfe, p. 35. Also see n. 28 above.

36. Ibid. p. 52. I have paraphrased the Mongol text 169v/10–27:

> (10) ene (11) boġda eǰen-ten ǰerü burqan-u (12) šasin kiged ilangġuy-a sira (13) malaġ-a yin didim-i (14) bariġči yin öni-yin (15) yosun-i deger-e eče tegegesi (16) arbiǰiġuluġad: nom-un (17) öglige-yin yaġun (?) egüden-i (18) ṉekeǰü: ene boġda ču (19) ṣasin-u yeke eǰen mön-u (20) učir-iyar ülisi-ügei (21) qayira bar blam-a bolġan (22) bariġsan anu lere metü bui (23) tende ene kü boġda eǰen-ten (24) toyid-un düri yosun-i (25) bariq̣san gayiqamsiġ ǰirüg-tü (26) öber-ün körüg nigen -i (27) qayiralaġsan-i ene boġda bar zung te (?) zi-yin dugang dur ǰalǰu ergün kündülel-i ǰokiyabai:

For remarks regarding the ideological significance of such effigies, see Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," pp. 5–6.

37. The Emperor's mother, Empress Hsiao-sheng (1693–1777), was herself a member of a Manchu consort clan and not of Mongol origin. Cf. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 369. The fact that her funeral was presided over by Tibetan clergy led by the most prominent lama resident in China would seem to indicate that Tibetan Buddhism was an integral matter of faith in Manchu ruling circles independent of the requirements of showing toleration of the beliefs of the Manchus' Mongol allies. For further remarks, cf. Kämpfe, p. 48.

38. For details concerning the initiations for the chosen divinities (i.e. *yi dam*) Mahākāla and Cakrasaṃvara, cf. Beyer, Tārā, p. 401.

39. Kämpfe, p. 51. Regarding the precedent for this act, cf. n. 29 above.

■ Source: Mish, John L., 'The Manchu version of the Amitayus-sutra: Short history and brief grammatical analysis of the Manchu language', in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. 6 (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 149–164.

THE MANCHU VERSION OF THE AMITĀYUS-SŪTRA

John L. Mish

Short History and Brief Grammatical Analysis of the Manchu Language

Manchu is a Tungusic language, the only one to have developed a written literature. Its original home was Manchuria. Its oldest form was Jurcen, the language of the Chin dynasty in North China (1125–1234). In 1599 the Mongol alphabet (derived ultimately from the Syriac) was adopted, and improved in 1632. Manchu became the court and army language of the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty of China (1644–1911), and the vehicle of a considerable literature. However, most of this is translated from Chinese, except for military reports and archives, in which Manchu was the original version until the end of the 19th century. Government documents were bilingual throughout the period. As a spoken language, Manchu died out in China proper by the beginning of the 19th century, but remained alive in some isolated border areas (Ili and the Amur region). Its present extent is not known exactly; there have been reports that one its dialects is still spoken in the Amur region of Manchuria.

In its grammatical structure it resembles Mongol: the noun is not inflected except for occasional plural particles. The verb is inflected for tense and mood, but not for person. Sentences are long with the principal verb always at the end. Other grammatical relations are expressed by particles and post-positions.

Pronunciation. c = ch, but c = ts before i, j as in English, but dz before i, š = sh, oo = ow in 'how', h = Scotch ch.

Vowel harmony. This law means that in the same word only front vowels (e) or back vowels (a, o, û) can occur; i and u can be used with either group. Thus many endings occur in two or three forms: past tense ha, he, or ho: bihe, oho, araha.

Main particles. -i (genitive); -be (accusative); -de (locative); -ci (ablative).

Main verbal endings. Verbs in dictionaries are given in the -mbi form (finite present tense)

-ha (he, ho) = past tense (in some verbs -ka, ke, ko)
-ra (re, ro) = participial present
-me = adverbial present gerund (Hindi = karke)
-fi = adverbial past gerund (Sanskrit -tvā)
-ci = conditional (if, when)
-cibe = concessive (although)
-ki = optative; -ki sembi = to want, wish, intend
-kini or pure stem = imperative
-ngge = noun endings for adjectives and verbs
-rakû = negative present
-hakû (hekû) = negative past
-habi (hebi, hobi) = perfect

The genitive precedes the governing noun; there is no relative pronoun, which is replaced by participial constructions. There is no conjunction 'that'; an independent sentence introduced by seme = saying, is used instead.

Translation of the Manchu Text

The holy sūtra of the Great Vehicle, called Dhāranī of the all-wise king of infinite life, the Tathāgata Buddha, as preached by Buddha.

Thus have I heard: Once upon a time, the world-honored Buddha was staying in the pleasure grove of Anāthapiṇḍika, the flower garden of Jeta, son of the king of Śrāvastī, together with 1250 great bhikṣus. All of them were great arhats who understood all, whose minds were freed of all thoughts of personal gain, without evil or selfishness and with imperishable penetrating hearts. They also were full of wisdom, and their merits and virtues were wonderful and splendid, and their form and behavior were absolutely perfect. All the revered and great Bodhisattvas had assembled to hear the preaching of the sūtra. The entire meeting was headed by the great wise compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas. At that time the Buddha Śākyamuni had not yet come, and the life span of all sentient beings was short. Thus the world-honored Buddha in his compassion added a long life, letting the sentient beings get ease and profit. Then, wanting to preach the unthinkable, secret, and very profound wonderful superior sūtra, he said to the great, wise, compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas: Listen and examine! To the west of this southern Jambudvīpa, after passing through infinite Buddha-lands, there is one world. Its name is "Center of the Infinite Power of Merit". The territory of this world is wonderfully beautiful; all kinds of treasures are piled up there, it is clean and clear, and abounds in peaceful joy full of ease. Of all the ten directions it is the outstanding, the most secret and wonderful. In this world of the Center of Infinite Power of Merit there is one Buddha whose name is: All-wise King of Infinite Life, Tathāgata, Profound True Spiritual Insight (Sanskrit: anuttarā samyak-sambodhi).

Now staying in that world, and starting from his great love and compassion, he proclaims a wonderful sūtra for all sentient beings, and thus lets them have great profit and peaceful joy. Buddha also announced to the compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas: From now on in this world of Jambudvīpa man's life span will be one hundred years. Those who commit evil deeds will die prematurely. If all sentient beings see such an all-wise King of Infinite Life, such a Tathāgata, and if they see the superior power of merit of his dhāraṇī sūtra, or if they hear his name and title, they must bring offerings to the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata of superior wisdom and infinite life, by presenting various beautiful flowers, incense for burning, perfume for spreading, perfumed powder, flowered canopies, and the like; and furthermore, by practicing bowing, kowtowing, reciting, reading,

Transliteration of the Manchu Text of the Amitayus-Sutra

Enetkek gisun de: a ri ya a ba ra mi da ayur dzaniyana nama ma ha ya na suu dra. (Āryāparimitāyur-jñāna nāma mahāyāna sūtra).

Tanggût gisun de: epaks ba tze dang ye šese dabak do met ba šese by a ba tek ba ciyan boi mdo.

Manju gisun de: Fucihi nomulaha enduringge mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni sere gebungge amba kulge i nomun.

Nikan gisun de: Fo šo da ceng šeng u liyang šeo giowei ding guwang ming wang ǰu lai to lo ni ging.

Fucihi nomulaha enduringge mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni sere gebungge araba kulge i. nomun.

Uttu seme mini donjiha. emu forgon de jalan i wesihun Fucihi Sirawasdi hecen i han i jui Dzida i ilhai hafan Naiida Bindadi i eiten be urgunjebure kûwaran de emu minggan juwe tanggû susai amba bikcu sa i emgi tembihebi. gemu efujen akû gûnin hafuka umai ehelinggu cisu akû beyei tusa be baha mujilen umesi ukcaha geren i sara takara amba arhat; geli sure ulhisu onco amba gungge erdemu ferguwecuke yangsangga, arbungga yongsu yooni yongki-yaha. geren wesihungge Fusa amba Fusa sa, nomun be donjire jalin gemu isanjihabi. gubci isan i dorgide amba sure nesuken horonggo Fusa amba Fusa ujulahabi. tere fonde Šigiyamuni Fucihi jidere unde jalan i eiten jalgan foholon geren ergengge be jilame gosime, jalgan jalafun nonggibume amba tusa jirgacun bahabume, gûnime akûnarakû narhûn somishûn umesi šumin ferguwecuke wesihun nomun nomulaki seme jalan i wesihun Fucihi amba sure nesuken horonggo Fusa de amala su we kimcime donji! ere julergi Dzambu Tib i wargi ergi mohon akû Fucihi gurun be dulefi, emu jalan jecen bi. gebu mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga sembi. gurun i ba na ferguwecuke saikan; hacingga boobai hiyaganjame miyamime bolgo boloko umesi wesihun elhe nelhe icangga sebjen. juwan dere ci colgorome tucifi somishûn ferguwecuke ujui uju ohobi. tere mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga jalan jecen i dorgide emu Fucihi bi. gebu mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi sembi. ne tere jalan jecen i dorgide tefi, amba jilan gosin deribufi, geren ergenggei jalin ferguwecuke nomun be badarambume nomulame umesi wesihun tusa jirgacun elhe sebjen be bahabumbi. Fucihi geli nesuken horonggo Fusa de alame: te ere Dzambu Tib jalan jecen i dorgi niyalmai jalgan tanggû se banjimbi. erei dorgi eiten ehe weilen deriburengge labdu ofi, geli aldasilarangge bi. nesuken horonggo Fusa en, aika geren ergengge enteke mohon akû and worshipping after putting this sūtra in its place—whether in their own house, or in a high tower, or in the hall of a pure building; and furthermore, they should copy the sūtra either themselves, or have it copied completely by somebody else. Even if a man has a short life span, but if he can with a truthful mind write this sūtra, and practice reading and reciting it; if he can bow to it, kowtow to it, and offer it sacrifices—such a man will have his life span increased until one hundred years are completed. In the same way, oh compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas, if any sentient being hears the name and title of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Tathagata, and can read with a truthful mind the dhāraṇī of 108 letters, such a sentient being, though with a short life span, will have his life extended. Or even if he only hears the Buddha's name and titles and with a truthful mind trusts him and practices reverence and respect, such a man also will have his life lengthened. And, oh compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas, if a man has sons and daughters of good origin, who ask for this wonderful sūtra with a truthful mind frequently and for a long time, without suddenly giving up, then listen and examine! I will preach to you the dhāraṇī of 108 letters of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Tathāgata. Here are the words of this dhāraṇī: (Here follows the Sanskrit text as given in the transliteration part. A translation of this text follows): Om. Hail to the Holy King of Light who has infinite life and is completely resolved on knowledge, the Tathāgata and Arhat, the Fully Enlightened Buddha (as this. Om) Meritorious, meritorious greatly meritorious, of infinite merit, charged with a heap of infinite meritorious knowledge. Om. Purified from all saṁskāras, risen to heaven in his natural condition, completely pure by nature, surrounded by great misery, Amen (svāhā).

(Translation of Manchu version continued): And oh! Compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas! If any man writes himself, or makes another write the sūtra of 108 letters of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, whether on a high tower or in a pure place in a great hall, and if, after putting down the sūtra, he makes night offerings to it and adorns it wonderfully, then such a man, though of short life, will obtain a long life until one hundred years are completed. Such a man, when he later dies at this place, is born into the eternal, virtuous, intimate world of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life. When the Buddha Śākyamuni preaches the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, 990 million Buddhas also recite this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text follows as above).

jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i gungge erdemu umesi wesihun be sabure, jai gebu colo be donjire oci, embici beye bitheleme arame, embici weri be ere nomun be bitheleme arabume šanggabufi, beyei boo ûlen de ocibe, den taktu de ocibe, bolgo boo deyen tinggin i dorgide ocibe, sindafi alifi urebume hûlame šejileme gingguleme dahame dorolome hengkileme hacin hacin i ferguwecuke ilha, dabure hiyan ufa hiyan i jure hiyan ilha labari i jergingge be tukiyefi, mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun de jukteme doboci acambi. udu jalgan foholon niyalma seme aika unenggi mujilen i bitheleme arafi alifi urebume hûlame šejileme jukteme dobome dorolome hengkileme muteci, enteke niyalma, geli jalgan jalafun nonggibufi tanggû se jalumbi. geli nesuken horonggo Fusa en, geren ergengge enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i gebu colo be donjifi, aika unenggi mujilen i ere emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni hûlame muteci, udu jalgan foholon geren ergengge seme geli jalgan jalafun nonggibumbi. embici damu terei gebu colo be donjifi, unenggi mujilen i akdafi alifi urebure wesihuleme ujelere ohode, enteke niyalma inu bahafi jalgan jalafun nonggibumbi. geli nesuken horonggo Fusa en, aika urkuji giodatala mujilen dartai andande seme waliyarakû unenggi gûnin i ferguwecuke nomun be baire sain fulehengge juse, sain fulehengge sargan juse, bici, si kimcime donji! bi te mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni nomulaki: tarni gisun:

om na mo bha ga wa da a ba ra mi da ayur dzaniya na su bi ni štse da de dzu ra dza ya da ta ga da ya a rha da sa myak sam bu ddha ya da dya ta om bu nye bu nye ma ha bu nye a ba ri mi da bu nye a ba ri mi da bu nya dzaniya na sa bha ro ba tse da om sa rwwa sam sga ri ba ri šut dhe dha rmma da ga ga na sa mut ga da sowa ba wa bi šut dhe ma ha na ya ba ri ba re sowa ha (om namo bhagavate aparimitāyur-jñāna-suviniscita-tejorājāya tathāgatāya arhate samyak-sambuddhāya/tadyathā om puṇye puṇye mahāpuṇye aparimitapuṇye aparimita-puṇya-jñāna-sambhāropacite/om sarva-saṃskāra-pariśuddhadharmate gagana-samudgate svabhāva-viśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā).

nesuken horonggo Fusa en! enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni be ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arame embici weri be ere terni be bitheleme arabufi den taktu i ninggu de ocibe, embici deyen tanggin i dorgi bolgo bade ocibe, sindafi nomun i songkoi ferguwecukei yangselame hacin hacin i jukteme dobori oci, jalgan foholon niyalma seme geli golmin jalgan bahafi tanggû se jalumbi. enteke niyalma amaga inenggi ere bade ergen dubehe manggi, uthai bahafi tere mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku

At that time, 840 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 770 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 660 million Buddhas recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 550 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 440 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 360 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 250 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, as many tens of millions of Buddhas as there are grains of sand in ten Ganges rivers, also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathagata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, each with the same mind and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

If a man by himself writes out this dhāraṇī sūtra, or makes another write it, such a man in his later days will not fall into hell; nor will he fall among the hungry demons (preta); nor will he fall among the beasts; nor will he fall into a secret trial for evil deeds in the world of King Yama. He will not receive a bad karma for a bad life path in all eternity. Such a man, by the force of acquiring merit by writing down this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathagata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, will obtain the penetrating wisdom (prajñā) of preceding generations at each birth. If such a man by himself writes down, or makes another write this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, then he is not at all different from one who copied 84000 sūtras, in his acquisition of merit. If a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man is not at all different from one who acquired merit by building a pagoda for 84 000 treasures. If such a man by himself writes down,

jihe Fucihi i mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga jalan jecen i dorgide banjinambi. Śigiyamuni Fucihi enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulara erinde, uyunju uyun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī as above).

tere fonde geli jakûnju duin jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī).

tere fonde geli nadanju nadan jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli ninju ninggun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli susai sunja jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli dehi duin jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli gûsin ninggun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli orin sunja jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli juwan g'angg'a birai yonggan i ton i gese jirun Fucihi inu meimeni mujilen encu akû uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

ere tarni nomun be geli ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arara, eici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma amaga inenggi na i gindana de tuhenerakû, omihon hutu de tuhenerakû, ulhai duwali de tuhenerakû, ilmun han i jecen, ehe weile butui fafun de tuhenerakû enteheme ere geren ehe jugûn de ehe karulan be alirakû. ere niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arara gungge erdemu i hûsun i turgunde, amaga eiten banjire ba jalan jalan de nenehe jalan i hafu sure be bahambi. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara, embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man, even if he be in hell without substance for his crimes, will be freed from all guilt by virtue of such a merit. If such a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will not fall into the category of demon chiefs or their relatives; he will not fall into the ways of the rākṣasa and yakṣa devils. He will not be involved in dying and perishing without having lived. He will never obtain the karma of having done all kinds of evil. If a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man, when his end approaches, will be met by 990 million Buddhas who will appear before him, and will be born in Buddha's land. Do not doubt it! If a man writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will never be born with the body of a woman in any future generation. If such a man writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will be eternally covered and hidden and protected by the Heavenly Lord who protects the land of the Gandharva Lords in the east; by the excellent, able-bodied Heavenly Lord of the Kinnaras in the south; by the large-eyed Heavenly Lord of the Great Dragon in the west; and by the much-hearing Heavenly Lord of the Great Yakṣa in the north. Furthermore, if a man gives alms from a little of his property and treasure for the sake of this sūtra, it will be the same as if he had given alms of the seven treasures to fill up the 3000 worlds, viz. gold, silver, sapphires, chalcedon, agate, coral, amber. Moreover, if a man makes offerings to this sūtra, it will be as if he had offered them to every true and real sūtra; and if a man grasps the very precious seven treasures and presents them to Śākyamuni Tathāgata with his uṣṇīṣa, who saves all those who perceive clearly, destroys the worlds of misery, (Krakucchanda Buddha), and guards the golden light; if he can offer them to the true Tathāgata Buddha who has vanquished his enemies—the virtue and happiness of such a man cannot be measured or counted. Furthermore, if a man makes offerings to this dhāraṇī sūtra of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Buddha Tathāgata, the happiness and virtue he obtains become of unknown duration. And furthermore, as one cannot know the number of drops with which the water of the four seas is filled—so also if a man writes down the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, offers it up, practices, reads, and recites it—the happiness and virtue of such a man cannot be measured or counted and its duration

enteke niyalma uthai tere jakûn tumen duin minggan nomun i niyaman be bitheleme arafi baha gungge erdemu ci umai encu akû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be geli ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arara, eici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma uthai tere jakûn tumen duin minggan boobai subarhan ilibufi baha gungge erdemu ci umai encu akû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma uthai sunja jaka akû na i gindana i weile bikini, ere gungge erdemu i hûsun de terei weile gemu mayame geterembi. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma ari i da jai ari i hûncihin duwali de tuhenerakû, yakca rakca i jugûn de tuhenerakû. jalgan waka bucere gukure de tuhenerakû; enteheme hacingga ehe šanggan i karulan be alirakû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara, embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma ergen dubere hamika erinde uyunju uyun jirun Fucihi, terei juleri iletulefi, enteke niyalma be okdonjifi, terei Fucihi gurun i dorgide banjinambi. suwe ume kenehunjere! enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma jidere ünde jalan de enteheme hehe i beye banjir-akû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma be dergi erg'i G'andarwa ejen gurun be karmatara abkai han, julergi ergi Ginnara ejen colgoroko fiyangtahûn abkai han, wargi ergi amba muduri ejen onco yasangga abkai han, amargi ergi amba yakca ejen ambula donjiha abkai han, tesei beyebe daldame somifi enteheme dahalame karmatame dalimbi. geli ememu niyalma enteke nomun i jalin heni majige ulin boobai fulehun buci, ere niyalma uthai ilan minggan amba minggan jalan jecen de jalukiyaha aisin menggun beiduri duna marimbu wehe šuru boisile i jergi nadan boobai be yooni fulehun buhe adali. geli ememu niyalma enteke nomun bithe de jukteme doborongge bici, uthai eiten yargiyan unenggi nomun i niyaman de jukteme doboho adali. geli ememu niyalma umesi wesihun nadan boobai be jafafi, hafu bulekušere giyolonggo geren be aitubure jobolon jalan be efulere, aisin mutehe elden be tuwakiyara Šigiyamuni ineku jihe bata be etehe unenggi hafuka Fucihi de jukteme dobome muteci, bahara hûturi erdemu be kemneme bodoho seme terei ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge cannot be known. Moreover, if a man copies a passage of the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, he has completed a pagoda for the relics of the true bodies of all Buddhas. This must be fittingly revered, respected, honored with ceremonies and kowtows. If all sentient beings listen to such a dhāraṇī, these sentient beings will never be born with many feet or with the feet of a bird. They will not return into the cycle of births during future generations, and will quickly acquire the deep, true, penetrating enlightenment (anuttarā samyak-sambodhi). Furthermore, if a man could collect and store the seven treasures: gold, silver, sapphire, chalcedon, agate, coral, and amber, and if he made a heap of them as high as Mount Meru, and gave all of them in alms, one could not know the amount of the resulting happiness and virtue by measuring and counting. Similarly, if a man can give alms for the sake of the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the resulting happiness and virtue will be beyond measure and of unknown duration. Furthermore, if a man writes down the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, and reveres it with ceremonies and kowtows and offers it up, such a man will not at all be different from one who reveres with ceremonies and kowtows and presents offerings to all Tathāgata Buddhas in all Buddhist temples. The world-honored Buddha Śākyamuni will then say with a smile: By practicing repeatedly alms-giving, you will achieve your goal. By giving alms, you acquire strength to become a Buddha. If one enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears this dhāraṇī with his ears, such a man, though not yet full of alms-giving, becomes a teacher to the powerful people of heaven. By repeated practice he obtains the power of abstinence and by the power of abstinence (śīla) he becomes Buddha. If he enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of abstinence, quickly becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By repeated practice and suffering he obtains perfection, and by the force of suffering becomes Buddha. If a man enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī sūra, though not yet full of suffering, he soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By force of repeated practice and progressive effort, perfection can be achieved. By this power of progressive effort such a man becomes Buddha. Then, if he enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his hears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of progressive effort, becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By repeated practice one attains perfection in meditation, and by the force of meditation, such a man becomes Buddha. If he then enters

han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun de jukteme doboci, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme terei bilagan kemun be same muterakû ombi. geli duin amba mederi de muke terei dolo fiheme jalufi tere sabdan i ton be bahafi same muterakû adali. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akü jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arafi jukteme dobome alifi urebume hûlame šejileci, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme, terei bilagan ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akŭ jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i bisire ba be bitheleme araci, uthai geren Fucihi i yargiyan beye šaril boobai subarhan be šanggabume mutebuhe de ombi. giyan i ujeleme wesihuleme dorolome hengkileci acambi. aika ergengge šan de enteke tarni be donjihangge oci, ere geren ergengge enteheme deyere gasha duwali bethe, labdu bethenggei encu duwali i beye banjirakû ombi. jidere unde jalan de bedercerakû delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi be hûdun šanggabume mutebumbi. geli ememu niyalma aisin menggun beiduri duna marimbu wehe šuru boisile i jergi nadan boobai be iktambume asarame Sumiri alin i adali obufi wacihiyame fulehun bume muteci, bahara hûturi erdemu be kemneme bodoho seme, terei ton be saci ojorakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafy surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i jalin fulehun bume muterengge bici, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme, terei bilagan ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arafi dorolome hengkileme jukteme doborongge bici, enteke niyalma uthai juwan derei geren Fucihi i juktehen geren ineku jihe Fucihi de dorolome hengkileme jukteme doboho ci umai encu akû safi jalan i wesihun šigiyamuni Fucihi irgabume hendume: urebume dasame fulehun buhe hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. fulehun buhe hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai fulehun bume jature undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûsun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame targacun tuwakiyaha hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi, aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai targacun tuwakiyame jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame kirime yabuha hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. kirime yabuha hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai kirime yabume jalure undengge seme, tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame kiceme ibehe hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. kiceme ibehe hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi.

the pure land of great compassion, and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of meditation, soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By practice and correction one obtains perfection by the force of transcendent wisdom, and by the same force one becomes Buddha. If a man enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of transcendent wisdom, soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven.

When Buddha had finished preaching this sūtra and when the great bhikṣus and all Bodhisattvas, the heavenly host of all worlds, the Asuras and Gandharvas had heard the Buddha's preaching, all rejoiced very greatly and received it attentively, and followed it.

The dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha of Infinite Life.

aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai kiceme ibeme jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame samadi tokton i hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. samadi tokton i hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai samadi tokton jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame sure ulhisu i hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. sure ulhisu i hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai sure ulhisu jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. Fucihi ere nomun nomulame šanggafi amba bikcu sa jai geren Fusa eiten jalan i abka niyalma Asura G'andarwa sa Fucihi i nomulaha be donjifi, gemu ambula urgunjeme sebjeleme hing semealifi dahame yabumbi. mohon akû jalafungga Fucihi i tarni nomun.

Vocabulary

Enetkek—India, Sanskrit, gisun—language, word, Fucihi—Buddha, nomulambi—to preach, enduringge—sacred, holy, mohon—end, akû—not; without, mohon akû—infinit, jalafungga—of long life, hafu—penetrating, sure (ngge)—wise, han—emperor, king, ineku jihe—Tathāgata, jimbi—to come, ineku—this, the same, thus, tarni—dhārṇī, gebungge—having the name of, amba—great, big, kulge—vehicle, amba kulge—Mahayana, sembi—to say; sere—called, named, uttu—thus, mini—genitive of 'bi'="I', donjimbi—to hear, emu—one, forgon—season, jalan—generation; world, wesihun—honored, hecen—town, city, jui—son, ilha—flower, yafan—garden, eiten—every, all, urgunjebumbi—to gladden, kûwaran—enclosure, minggan—thousand, juwee—two, tanggû—hundred, susai—fifty, bikcu—monk, bhikkhu (bhikṣu), sa—plural particle, i emgi—with, tembi—to sit, dwell, stay, efujen—destruction, gûnin—mind, thought, hafumbi—to penetrate, umai akû—not at all, ehelinggu—wicked, cisu—selfish, beye—body; self, tusa—profit, bahambi—to obtain, receive, mujilen—mind, heart, umesi—very, greatly, ukcambi—to be freed, escape, geren—all, sambi—to know takambi—to be acquainted with, geli—also, ulhisu—understanding; intelligent, onco—wide, vast, gungge—merit, erdemu—virtue, power, ferguwecuke—wonderful, miraculous, yangsangga—beautiful, arbungga—having form (rupavan), yongsa-rite, custom, yooni—all, entirely yongkiy—ambi—to complete, wesihungge—revered, honorable, Fusa—Bodhisattva, nomun—sūtra, jalin—for the sake of, isanjimbi—to come to assemble, gubci—all, isan—assembly, nesuken—gentle, compassionate, horonggo—majestic, ujulambi—to head, preside, tere fonde—at that time, jidere unde—not yet come, jalgan—life span, foholon—short, ergengge—sentient being, jilambi—to pity, gosimbi—to love, jalafun—long life, bahabumbi—to let have, grant, nonggibumbi—to add, increase, jirgacun—ease comfort, gûnin akûnarakû—unimaginable, narhûn—secret, somishûn—concealed, hidden, šumin—deep, profound, amala—behind, after, kimcimbi—to examine, ere—this, julergi—southern, wargi ergi—west, gurun—land, country, dulembi—to pass through, jalan jecen—world, niyamangga—interior, center, ba—place, na—earth, bana—territory, saikan—beautiful, hacingga—various, all kinds of, boobai-treasure, jewel, hiyaganjambi—to be piled up in heaps, miyamimbi—to adorn, decorate, bolgo—pure, boloko—clean, elhe nelhe—peaceful, icangga—fitting, proper, sebjen—joy, juwan—ten, juwan dere—the 10 directions, i.e., N, NE, NW, S, SE, SW, W, E, above and below, colgo—rombi—to excel, uju—head, ujui uju—the very first, ombi—tobe, become, delesi akû—not superficial, unenggi—true, bodi—bodhi, delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi—anuttara-samyak-sambodhi, ne—now, jilan—compassion, gosin—love, deribumbi—to begin, start, badarambumbi—to extend, expand, elhe—peace, te—now, alambi—to announce, report, se—year (of age), banjimbi—to become, be born, live, i dorgi—in, inside, weilen—deed, work, ehe—bad, evil, labdu—much, many, aldasilambi—to die prematurely, en—oh!, aika—if, enteke—such, sabumbi—to see, gebu—name, colo—title, embici—or, bithelembi—to compose a book, arambi—to write, weri—another, arabumbi—to cause to write, šanggabumbi—to complete, boo—house, boo ûlen—house and home, den-high, taktu—tower, deyen tinggin—hall, sindambi—to put, alimbi—to receive, accept, urebumbi—to practice, hûlambi—to read, šejilembi—to recite, ginggulembi—to honor, worship, dahambi—to follow, dorolombi—to bow ceremoniously, hengki-lembi—to kowtow, hacin hacin i—all kinds of, dabure hiyan—incense for burning, ufa hiyan—perfumed powder, ijure hiyan—perfume for spreading, labari—canopy, jergingge—of that sort, tukiyembi—to present, offer, juktembi—to offer sacrifices, dobombi—to offer ceremoniously, acambi—one must, udu—although, mutembi—one can, jalumbi—to be full, complete, jakûn—eight, hergen—letter of the alphabet, tere—that (one), damu—but, only, akdambi—to trust, wesihulembi—to honor, revere, ujelembi—to treat respectfully, ohode (at end of sentence)—if, urkuji—often, goidatala—for a long time, dartai andande—all at once, waliyambi—to throw away, give up, baimbi-to ask for, juse—sons (plural of jui), sargan juse—daughters, fulehen—root, origin, bi—I, myself, ememu—some, i ninggude—on, upon, i songkoi—according to, yangselambi—to adorn, dobori—night, golmin—long, amaga—later, inenggi-day, ergen—life, dubembi—to end, manggi—after (conjunction at end), uthai—then, banjinambi—to be born, uyun—nine, uyunju—ninety, erin—hour, jirun—ten million, uhei-together, hendumbi—to speak, tell, jakûnju—eighty, duin—four, nadanju—seventy, nadan—seven, ninju—sixty, ninggun—six, susai—fifty, sunja—five, dehi—forty, gûsin—thirty, orin—twenty, G'angg'a—Ganges, bira—river, yonggan—sand, ton—number, i gese—like, as, meimeni—each, encu—difference, encu akû—the same, eici—or, gindana—prison, na i gindana—hell, tuhenembi—to fall, omihon—hungry, hutu—demon, ghost, omihon hutu—preta, ulha—beast, cattle, duwali—category, class, ilmun han—King Yama, jecen—border, territory, weile—crime, misdeed, butui—hidden, secret, fafun—law, prohibition, punishment, enteheme—eternally, jugûn—way, path, karulan—requital, *karma*, hûsun—power, i -turgunde because, nenehe—previous, tumen—ten thousand, niyaman—heart, interior, subarhan—pagoda, ilibumbi—to build, erect, jaka—things, object, bimbi—to be, mayambi—to diminish, geterembi—to get rid of, ari—devil, demon, hûncihin—kinsman, relative, yakca rakca—yakṣa rakṣa, waka—there is not, it is not, bucembi—to die, gukumbi—to perish, šanggan—act of committing, hamimbi-to draw near, approach, i juleri—before, in front, iletulembi—to appear, okdonjimbi—to come to meet, suwe—you (plural), ume—do not! kenehunjembi—to doubt, hehe—woman, ejen—lord, master, karmatambi—to protect, julergi ergi—south, fiyangtahûn—strong, wargi wergi—west, muduri—dragon, yasa—eye, onco yasangge—big-eyed, amargi ergi—north, ambula—large, much, daldambi—to conceal, somimbi—to hide, dahalambi—to accompany, dalimbi—to cover, veil, heni—a little, majige—a little, ulin—goods, wealth, fulehun—alms, charitable gift, yargiyan—true, jalukiyambi—to fill, complete, jafambi—to grasp, seize, bulekušembi—to look, reflect, giolonggo—having an ushnisha, aitubumbi—to save, rescue, jobolon—misfortune, efulembi—to destroy, elden—light, splendor, tuwaki—yambi—to guard, bata—enemy, etembi—to vanquish, hûturi—luck, kemnembi—to measure, bodombi—to calculate, bilagan—term, mederi—sea, muke—water, dolo—inside, fihembi—to fill, sabdan—drop, bisire—present participle of bimbi, šaril—relic, giyan i—properly, deyembi—to fly, gasha—bird, bethe—foot, bedercembi—to go back, return, hûdun—fast, quickly, iktambumbi—to accumulate, asarambi—to store up, Sumiri alin—Mount Sumeru, wacihiyame—entirely, juktehen—temple, irgabumbi—to smile with eyes, dasambi—to correct, dasame—again, sefu—teacher, abka—heaven, niyalma—man, human being, targacun—abstinence, tenteke—such, kirimbi—to suffer, yabumbi—to do, šan—ear, samadi—samadhi, tokton—fixed determination, urgunjembi—to rejoice, sebjelembi—to rejoice, hing sembi—to be serious, attentive.

■ Source: Ishihama, Yumiko, 'The conceptual framework of the dGa's-ldan's war based on the beye dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon i bithe: 'Buddhist government' in the Tibet-Mongol and Manchu relationship', in Alex McKay (ed.), *Tibet and her neighbours: A History*, London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2003, pp. 157–165.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE DGA'-LDAN'S WAR BASED ON THE *BEYE DAILAME WARGI AMARGI BABE NECIHIYEME TOKTOBUHA BODOGON I BITHE*, 'BUDDHIST GOVERNMENT' IN THE TIBET-MONGOL AND MANCHU RELATIONSHIP

Ishihama Yumiko

In 1688 dGa'-ldan's attack upon Tüsiyetü QaGγan of the Qalqa Mongol tribe led to the JegunGar-Qalqa war. Soon after Qalqa had fled to the Qing's territory, dGa'-ldan attacked the Qing dynasty, resulting in dGa'-ldan's defeat and the Qalqa's subordination to the Qing empire. This series of events have long been a major focus of research.[1] Previous study[2] has provided the view that the term "Buddhist Government", that refers to the symbiotic relationship between religion and state, was a common idea between the Tibetans, Mongolians and Manchus from the latter half of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century. "Buddhist Government" was the translation used for *chos srid, lugs gnyis* or *lugs zung* in Tibetan, *törü shasin* in Mongolian and *doro shajin* in Manchu, whose literal rendering is "State and Religion". Its interpretation later changed into the "Government following the Dalai Lama's teaching" or "Government following the Yellow Hat sect's teaching" owing to the successful propagation of the fifth Dalai Lama.

This essay suggests that "Buddhist Government" was still common among all sides during the war caused by dGa'-ldan during 1688–1697 and provided the framework of this war.

Valuation of dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon i bithe

We have two basic sources on dGa'-ldan war. One source is the original documents included in the 8th volume of the *Gongzhong-dang Kangxi-chao zouzhe* (hereafter KZ), a collection of the original extant documents. The other is *An authorized record on the north-western frontier's pacification* (hereafter WA), compiled by imperial order in the 47th year of Emperor Kangxi's reign. The former covers only the very end of the war, while the latter covers the whole process of the war and is thus required to obtain a total picture of it. *An authorized record* has Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian versions.[3] Among these trilingual texts, the Manchu one can be considered most useful on the grounds that that version has no translation-time variable, because the important documents were originally written in Manchurian, the royal language during the Qing period. Incidentally, the Mongol text (hereafter OU) is an obvious translation from the Manchu text,[4] not to mention the Chinese one (hereafter Shuo-mo).

But *An authorized record* is not an original but a compiled source. Thus it is necessary to examine the validity of the Manchu text, the regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho's letter to the Emperor Kangxi for example. This letter consisted of 29 pages in fifteen lines to a regular page and was received by the Qing on 24 February, Kangxi reign year 36. In it, Sangs-rgyas denied the Qing's demands and we may demonstrate that Sangsrgyas-rgya-mtsho's letter in WA is almost an exact citation of the corresponding original texts in KZ except for some minor deletions and abbreviation. Although it is dangerous to generalize on the basis of a single example, we may conclude that WA should be given a high value.

Next we may point out a fault of the Chinese text. Despite its popularity, the Chinese text departs in manifold ways from the original text. For example, if we turn the spotlight onto a single term, *doro shajin*, we find in the Shuomo that it was rendered in so many ways[5] that we cannot even identify the original word, much less perceive the nuances of meaning held by *doro shajin* in the Tibetan Buddhist world. It is obvious that this has been due to the Chinese translator's ignorance of Tibetan Buddhism terminology. In short, Shuomo is less valuable than WA,[6] because of its inaccurate translation of Tibetan Buddhism terminology.

The usage of "Buddhist Government" during the War (1686–1697)

Based on this valuation of WA, this section will reveal how the political theory of "Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin*) affected the war. We know that the term *doro shajin* was referred to not only by dGa'-ldan but also by Kangxi on many occasions from the Kulen-belciger conference in 1686 up to the UlaGyan-botong battle in 1690, when a dialogue between the two parties still existed. Before we get into details of a specific case, we should note the first half of dGa'-ldan's life.

He was born in the royal lineage of JegunGyar in 1645 and recognized as the reincarnated lama of dBen-sa-srpul-sku. In his adolescence he studied

in Tibet under the Panchen Lama until he went back to his homeland. This career made dGa'-ldan an enthusiastic follower of the Dalai Lama's teaching. Inevitably he often referred to Tibetan Buddhism during the whole process of the war.

Events Prior to the Kulen-belciger Conference

It was an event that had occurred at the Kulen-belciger conference to mediate the conflict between the Right and Left Wings of the Qalqas that triggered an open break between Tüsiyetü QaGyan and dGa'-ldan. Before the opening of this conference, Kangxi had appealed to the Dalai Lama to send an emissary as an intermediary:

> The QaGyans and Beises of Qalqa tribe making offering to you, rely on your religion (*shajin / jiao*) and esteem your teaching on state (*doro / dao-fa*). You send me tribute steadily. They [the Qalqa] show their good faith to me and are Patron to you. Why could we look on their destruction idly? (Iron-mouse day February Kangxi 23, WA, vol. 3, 3b/Shuomo, vol. 3, 2ab)

When difficulties arose in Inner Asia, it was an usual practice for the Manchu-Chinese Emperor to appeal to the Dalai Lama to act as the intermediary.[7] Considering the overwhelming influence of *doro shajin* theory in Inner Asia, this action could also be interpreted as the Kangxi's demonstration of following the Dalai Lama's teaching (*doro shajin*). When the Dalai Lama sent an emissary Sems-dpa'-chen-po QutuGytu response to this appeal, Kangxi stated as follows: "you sent [Sems-dpa'-chen-po] QutuGytu thinking of Buddhist Government (*doro shajin / li-fa*)" (WA, vol. 3, 8b–9a/Shuomo, vol. 3, 6b–7a).

From this statement, we can know that the Dalai Lama's co-operation was regarded by Kangxi as a benefit of "Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin*). Eventually the conference was held at Kulen-belciger in August, Kangxi year 25. Shangshu Alani from the Qing court and the head lama of dGa'-ldan monastery, the most prestigious monastery of the Yellow Hat sect in Tibet, were sent as the intermediaries. The author of the biography of rJe-btsun-dam-pa summed up this conference as follows:

> This autumn, when Seven-Banners of Qalqa were assembled at Kulen-belciger in the presence of Ngag-dbang-blo-gros-rgya-mthso, a representative of Supreme Victorious King (Dalai Lama) and Alani, a representative of Kangxi, Acitu-chos-rje, an embassy sent by Kangxi, invited this lord (rJe-btsun-dam-pa) as a protector of this conference by edict. This lord and the head lama of dGa'-ldan monastery got together and had a talk with each other [while]

> sitting on the same height of throne...... Mergen-pandita Rab-'byams-pa and royal grandson dGa'-ldan-rdo-rje were sent to Peking to inform Kangxi of the issues of controversy at this conference contributing to the state and religion (*gzhung bstan pa*) (BTM, 68a1–b1).

Thus Zaya-pandita, the author of this biography, also regarded the issue of this conference as "Buddhist Government" (state and religion). This accords with the Emperor's recognition. According to WA, the conference was closed after both wings of QaGyans swore before the Buddha's statue that they would make efforts toward peace.

Next new year (Kangxi 26), both wings of Qalqa's QaGyans offered to confer titles on Kangxi. Though this offer was rejected by Kangxi for some reason, it is noteworthy that this action is related to Buddhist Government, *doro shajin*. They stated that "thanks to [the] Kangxi Emperor and the Dalai Lama, Many sentient beings got benefit and comfort. State (*doro / dao*) [was] pacified and Buddhism (*shajin fa*) developed". (WA, vol. 4, 2a / Shuomo, vol. 4, 1b)

Moreover, in the same month Tüsiyetü qaGyan also stated: "When I had gone to Tibet and had audience with the Dalai Lama before, the Dalai Lama deigned to give me the teaching on "Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin / dao-fa*) and to confer title and honor on me. (WA, vol. 4, 4a / Shuomo, vol. 4, 3a) Therefore, this time if you confer title and honor on me, I will be very appreciative".

In these two offers, Qalqa's QaGyan juxtaposed Kangxi with the Dalai Lama in the context of praising Kangxi. This reveals that there was a common notion between Qalqa and Qing that Kangxi, at least officially, should be delighted with the juxtaposition to the Dalai Lama.

From the dGa'-ldan's Invasion to the DoluGyan NaGyur Conference

The temporary peace brought about by the Kulen biliciger conference was broken by Ga'-ldan's letter sent to Alani in April. In this letter dGa'-ldan accused rJe-btsun-dam-pa of meeting a representative of the Dalai Lama while seated on the same height of throne.[8] Dorgi Ambans said

> "As for religion the Yellow Hat Sect is best. As for lama, the Dalai Lama is best" So you, ministers should carry out what seems to be good for the Yellow Hat Sect's teaching. As I am a patron of the Yellow Hat Sect, I wrote to ministers based on verbatim report. Please give me a clear answer to do all that you can do for Buddhist Government (doro shajin / dao-fa). (WA, vol. 4, 7b–8ab / Shuomo, vol. 4, 5b–6a)

Obviously in this statement, dGa'-ldan regarded rJe-btsun-dam-pa's discourtesy to the head lama as insulting to the Dalai Lama and as profaning the Buddhist Government (*doro shajin*). Thereupon in May, rJe-btsun-dam-pa sent the letter to Kangxi, reporting dGa'-ldan's accusation to him. The fact that the same information was immediately shared between Kangxi, the Qalqa's princes and dGa'-ldan, shows us that there is common diplomatic ground between these three parties through Tibetan Buddhism.

During the initial phase of the war, despite dGa'-ldan and rJe-btsun-dam-pa's reports, Kangxi observed developments calmly. However conditions were getting worse and it was reported to Kangxi that dGa'-ldan had invaded Qalqa and destroyed the Erdeni-Joo temple on Iron-monkey day, June, Kangxi reign year 27. The article of WA dated Wood-dog day July Kangxi 27, conveyed dGa'-ldan's words as follows:

> rJe-btsun-dam-pa and Tüsiyetü qaGyan betrayed the Dalai Lama's teaching and did not esteem the head lama. I admonished them what is good for Buddhist Government (*doro shajin / li-fa*), but they rejected [this admonishment]. Then I went to Qalqa and destroyed their residence under the name of the Dalai Lama (WA, vol. 4, 32ab / Shuomo, vol. 4, 22b–23a).

Responding to these words, Kangxi made an appeal to dGa'-ldan on the same day:

> You, Oyirad and Qalqa, have been following Buddhist Government (*doro shajin / dao-fa*) preached by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama instructed you to benefit all sentient beings, namely, to nourish and to cheer up and not to perish and not to destroy them. (WA, vol. 4, 33b / Shuomo, vol. 4, 24b)

To sum up the matter, dGa'-ldan invaded Qalqa because Qalqa disturbed Buddhist Government (*doro shajin*), whereas Kangxi remonstrated with dGa'-ldan referring to Buddhist Government. In dGa'-ldan's context, observing *doro shajin* meant to attack Tüsiyetü QaGyan, the enemy of *doro shajin*, whereas in Kangxi's context it meant for everybody to live peacefully. *Doro shajin* no longer functioned as the grounds for friendly relations between the two parties, though it still provided the framework for the diplomatic ground. This state of the war was becoming chronic despite Kangxi's attempts at mediation and eventually Tüsiyetü QaGyan and rJe-btsun-dam-pa, leading a great number of subjects, sought shelter in Qing territory.

Counterattack by the Qing

In the following new year (Kangxi 29), Kangxi informed the Dalai Lama of his protection of Qalqa and requested him to send an ambassador in order to make peace between Qalqa's princes and dGa'-ldan. In response to this, the head lama of Byams-pa-gling monastery was sent as an ambassador in December with the Dalai Lama's statement demanding that Kangxi yield up Tüsiyetü QaGyan and rJe-btsun-dam-pa. The words were, in fact, given by the regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, who, as is well known, concealed the Dalai Lama's death for many years.

Kangxi wrote his reply rejecting this demand on the same day, saying "I cannot believe that these are the words of the Dalai Lama who benefits sentient beings". This—rather ironically was of course the truth. But what is significant is that Kangxi did not reject the Dalai Lama's word, but only rejected the words that did not seems to be the Dalai Lama's. In other words, Kangxi committed himself to not violating the Dalai Lama's commands. In this connection, a few years later, after Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho made the Dalai Lama's death public, Kangxi accused Sangs-rgyas of fabricating the fifth Dalai Lama's words, whereas Sangs-rgyas claimed that he was right because the Dalai Lama had instructed him that after his death he (the Regent) should follow his shaman's words and divinations as if they were the Dalai Lama's words.[9]

This argument also shows that dGa'-ldan and Kangxi shared the common notion that the Dalai Lama's words should be observed.

In March Kangxi 29, Kangxi assembled both wings of Qalqa at Dolu-Gyan naGyur and made them swear to be subordinates of the Qing dynasty. As a result, dGa'-ldan had to invade Qing's territory to pursue Tüsiyetü QaGyan. In June he eventually invaded Ujumucin within Qing's territory and Kangxi immediately prepared to go to war. In July, Kangxi appointed imperial prince Heshuo Yu Wuyuan Jiangjun (Far Consoling General) and imperial prince Heshuo Gong Anbei Jiangjun (North Pacifying General).

It is important to note that the Qing insisted officially that their advance would not be to put down dGa'-ldan, but to discuss Buddhist Government (*doro shajin*), as evidenced by these two general's frequent statements,[10] e.g., "to discuss for the benefit of Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin i jalin gisureme*; WA, vol. 8, 6a: "jiangli-xiuhao"; Shumo vol. 8, 4b6), "to pacify to be good for Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin acara be toktobuki*; WA, vol. 8, 15a: "ding li hao", Shumo vol. 8, 11a2).

The following passage reveals the cause of advance:

> The Holy King especially sent the Imperial Prince Yu and the Prince Royal to discuss Buddhist Government (*doro shajin* / *li-fa*) and to establish everlasting peace. In past years, our vast army, you know, moved to [the] frontier to sign a peace treaty with Russia and returned [to the] homeland without any collision (Earth-dog day, July Kangxi 29, WA, vol. 7, 22ab / Shuomo, vol. 7, 16b–17a).

As this statement shows, Kangxi implied that as long as dGa'-ldan refrained from hostile acts, he would not resort to force. In such a highly volatile political situation, both parties, officially avoiding military conflict, were trying to achieve their end under the name of Buddhist Government: one to capture Tüsiyetü QaGyan and the other to drive dGa'-ldan's army out of its territory.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Prince Royal referred to *doro shajin* not in the public appeals in which the official position was shown, but in the internal reports sent from the frontier. This indicates that the purpose of the advance was regarded both in rhetoric and in intent, not as the punitive expedition to punish a traitor, but as the pacification of Buddhist Government.

The Time of the UlaGyan-bodong War

On 1 August, following a conflict between the Qing army and dGa'-ldan's force at UlaGyan-bodong, the latter was defeated and forced to swear an oath not to intrude into the Qing's domain before rJe-drung QutuGytu, who had been sent by the Dalai Lama and who acted in concert with dGa'-ldan:

> All knowing Dalai Lama sent rJe-drung-Erdeni to benefit Buddhist Government (*doro shajin* / *li-fa*). Now I (dGa'-ldan) [will] never invade Qalqa by Kangxi's favor. Faithfully I offer you this sealed letter (Water-hare day August Kangxi 29, WA, vol. 8, 16b / Shuomo, vol. 8, 12a).

After this statement, dGa'-ldan came out from the Great Wall. Three months later, the Dalai Lama sent a letter in which he proposed conferring a title on Kangxi in honor of his contribution to the cease-fire. The title "Compassing All Sentient Beings, Pacifying All Conflicts and Propagating Virtue, Holy Bodhisattva Manjusri East King (WA, vol. 8, 46b / Shuomo, vol. 8, 23a)" is very interesting from the perspective of Buddhist Government.

The Manchu word "*dergi\/*" has two meanings, namely, "upper" and "east". Though Shuomo took the former interpretation, we might suggest the latter interpretation. This would be supported by the fact that the Dalai Lama's title conferred by Kangxi contained the word "West"[11] and that Kangxi was juxtaposed to the Dalai Lama by the Mongol princes as mentioned above. Kangxi actually rejected this title, stating that it was not the appropriate time for accepting it. But the reason for rejecting it was not because he regarded this title as one forced upon him by an alien group. For in May Kangxi 30, Tüsiyetü Qinwang Shajin from Qorcin tribe, leading Forty-Nine-Banners from Inner Mongolia that had already been subordinate to the Qing dynasty, tried to offer him a similar title "All Bowing Civilizing Power, Buddhist Government (*doro shajin* / *dao-fa*) Shining like the Sun, Lord of Speech and East Pacified Holy King" (WA, vol. 10, 26ab / Shuomo, vol. 10, 17b–18a). This praises Kangxi as the Glory of Buddhist Government, identifies him, and, in terming him "Lord of speech", identifies him with the Bodhisattva Manjushri (*ngag gi dbang phyug*). In short, these two titles obviously have almost the same contents. Moreover, it appears that the Dalai Lama (in fact, Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho), dGa'-ldan, the Princes of Inner Mongolia and perhaps the potential honoree Kangxi, all had the same notion that it was honorable to be praised as the advocator of Buddhist Government, in other words, as a Bodhisattva King.

In September Kangxi 31, Tidu (commander) Sun-si-ke reported to the Qing court that Yuanwailang Madi had been killed by dGa'-ldan's subordinate (Shuomo, vol. 12, 19a–20a). At the same time, dGa'-ldan renewed his request to Kangxi to yield up Tüsiyetü QaGyan and rJe-btsun-dam-pa. Kangxi got angry and sent dGa'-ldan the letter in which he brought dGa'-ldan to account for his breach of promise and queried whether this was the result of following the Dalai Lama's teaching.[12]

In November, as soon as Kangxi had heard that dGa'-ldan was agitating in Inner Mongolia saying "follow the teaching of Tsong-kha-pa (the founder of the Yellow Hat sect)", he sent Erdeni-chos-rje to inner Mongolia. The latter explained how Kangxi had contributed to Tsong-kha-pa's teaching, namely, the Yellow Hat sect, by enumerating three instances. Firstly, the Manchu-China Emperor had invited the fifth Dalai Lama to Peking, secondly, following the Dalai Lama's request, he had forced Phagmo-grub-pa, the ex-regent of Tibet to make restitution of his official seal to the Qing court in Kangxi 8, and, thirdly following the fifth Dalai Lama's instruction, he had banned the rNying-ma sect from practicing in Peking.

In the end, Kangxi's claim ended with the following passage:

> Across the generations I have acted according to Tsong-kha-pa and the Dalai Lama's teaching. What I am doing here and now is also Tsong-kha-pa and the Dalai Lama's teaching. All monks wear Yellow Hat and read the Dalai Lama's scripture. Thus I have esteemed Tsong-kha-pa and the Dalai Lama's teaching. Did not you, Qalqa and Oyirad, esteem Tsong-kha-pa and the Dalai Lama's teaching? . . . . . . You should know that I have brought together State and Religion (*doro shajin* / *dao-fa*) together with the Dalai Lama for a long time (Fire-hare day November Kangxi 31, WA, vol. 12, 59a–60a / Shuomo, vol. 12, 38a–39a).

Kangxi's stress on his contribution to the Yellow Hat sect shows that he was enraged—not at the default of dGa'-ldan—but at the implication that Kangxi was the real enemy of the Yellow Hat sect. In this claim Kangxi entirely drifted into the logic of the Tibetan Buddhism world. Thereupon, the Qing launched an all-out offensive and the exchange with the delegate came to a standstill. This war ended with dGa'-ldan's suicide in 1697, after his cause had been damaged by three imperial expeditions.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that, on the ideological level, Kangxi and dGa'-ldan shared common ground in their understanding of "Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin*) as the path to be followed throughout the whole process of the war. When dGa'-ldan attacked the Qalqa, invaded China and offered to confer a title on Kangxi, he always invoked the Buddhist theory of Government as the justification for his claims. On the other hand, when Qing Kangxi offered a cease-fire and talks, he justified his action by also referring to the Buddhist Government theory. To sum up, the concept of Buddhist Government provided Tibet, Mongol and Manchu figures with common diplomatic ground not only in peace time, as my former paper has stated, but also in wartime.

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Notes

1. Zlatkin (1983) provided an overview of this war based on the Russian Translation of W.A. Okada (1979), (1983) and Cimeddorji (1991) detail the Imperial Expedition based on the imperial letters from the frontier to his son. Ahmad (1970) ch. 8 discussed the Sino-Tibetan relationship based on Tibetan source and Shilu. Regarding the High priest sent from Tibet as intermediary, see Wakamatsu (1978).

2. See, Ishihama (2001) ch. 7. This English translation will be published in the proceeding of the Lumbini conference 2000.

3. To my knowledge there are few studies on these trilingual texts except Fuchs (1940).

4. Translation by DacungGya, the Qaracin's educationist, in Dao-guang 9 (OU, pp. 3a–4a).

5. As *daofa* (*passim*), *lifa* (*passim*), *liyi* (e.g. WA, vol. 37, 20b etc.), fajiao (e.g. WA, vol. 26, 3a etc.), *guidao* (*passim*) and *shengjiao* (e.g. WA, vol. 2, 43a etc.). There are numerous other such examples. Cf. note 10.

6. But Shuomo can not be completely denied, because the words deleted in WA are found in Shuomo. For example, the passage that is carelessly omitted in WA (number 7) exists in Shuomo.

7. Ahmad, 1970, pp. 148–150.

8. According to Zaya Pandita, dGa'-ldan also got angry because rJe-btsun-dam-pa did not ask the head lama for initiation (*phyag dhang*) (BTM, 69a1).

9. Ahmad, 1970, pp. 44–50.

10. There are many more examples apart from the ones cited in the body of this paper, e.g.: "to pacify Buddhist Government" (*doro shajin toktobume gisure-*) WA, vol. 7, 53ab, 58b, 59a: "jangxin xiu-li" (Shuomo, vol. 7, 39a), "he-hao" (Shuomo 42b7), "xiu-hao" (Shuomo 43a5).

11. *Xitian dashan zizai-fu suoling tianxia shijiao putong wachiladala dalai lama* (on Fire-snake day April Shunchi 10, Shizu Shilu, vol. 74, 12ab).

12. On Earth-dragon day September Kangxi 31 WA, vol. 12, 43a, Shuomo vol. 12, 29a.

■ Source: Deiwiks, Shu-Jyuan, 'The secret Manchu documents on the trial of Jesuit missionary Johann Adam Schall (1592–1666) before the Supreme Court of Peking [review article]', in *Monumenta Serica*, 51 (2003), pp. 641–648. Reprinted with permission from the Monumenta Serica Institute.

THE SECRET MANCHU DOCUMENTS ON THE TRIAL OF JESUIT MISSIONARY JOHANN ADAM SCHALL (1592–1666) BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT OF PEKING*

Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks

About 15 years ago Professor Martin Gimm (Cologne) discovered a number of Manchu manuscripts of the Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 内閣) of the Qing dynasty in Peking, which were not taken notice of by the Chinese authorities until the 1990s.[1] Most of these manuscripts, called *Narhôšame dangse* (*Miben dang* 秘本檔), contain material about the interrogations during the trial of the German Jesuit missionary Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang 湯若望, 1592–1666) and his companions. These documents, drawn up completely in the Manchu language and without any Chinese version,[2] are a small sensation for the academic world, because no other manuscripts of such quality and referring to such serious action against Europeans in China have been passed down to our days. These documents are unique, because according to an order of the Kangxi Emperor in 1677 the original memorials were to be destroyed after they had been copied into the secret documents.[3] Due to the destruction of most of the ministry documents since either through the war in 1900 or through some building damage in 1909,[4] and since other sources such as the *Qiju zhu* 起居注 (Records of Rising and Resting), which start with the year 1671, or the *Shilu* 實錄 (Veritable Records), which give only sparse information, these secret Manchu documents are to be regarded as a valuable firsthand information which is indispensable especially for the study of the early period of the Qing dynasty.

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* This paper was prepared for the Conference "Europe in China III: Between Ming and Qing. The Jesuits, Dynastic Decline, Internal Strife, and the Establishment of a New Order in Seventeenth Century China," Berlin, April 22–26, 1998. In the following years after the conference research work on these secret Manchu documents has been carried out: All the 24 documents, approximately 2,700 pages, have been transliterated and translated into German. The publication of these as well as of the monograph on the subject is in preparation.

[1] As a result of Prof. Gimm's reference to the material dealing with Johann Adam Schall, the First Historical Archive in Peking began to work on the documents. As far as I know, An Shuangcheng from the Archive wrote two articles on the topic in 1992 and 1996 (see bibliography). He also provided me with a contents description of the documents, but some unclear passages need further investigation.

[2] The memorials of the Qing dynasty were written both in Chinese and Manchu after 1689. For the time before this year we have only the Manchu version.

[3] The edict of the 14th day of the 3rd lunar month of the 16th year of the Kangxi period says: "If the original memorials are to be preserved, so are the confidential remarks of the Emperor. This task of preservation is very burdensome and vexing; therefore, I strictly enjoin Budali 布達里, Wentai 温泰, Liu Jiusi 劉九斯, Sangge 桑格, Miu Chan 繆禪,

These documents were written at the beginning of the Kangxi period. They contain the charges laid against Adam Schall by the well-known opponent of Christianity, Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597–1669),[5] which provoked a confrontation between Chinese and Western experts on calendar-making and led to a fierce dispute about Christian Church doctrine and its ideology. The Qing government felt itself forced to bring this matter to the attention of the supreme court of justice. The documents alluding to this matter give detailed insight into the proceedings of that time and the discussions of the ministries as well as their decisions. Since the material reflects the life proceedings which had immense bureaucratic formalities to attend to and due to the judicial language style of that time, it was inevitable that many parts of the text show special features such as duplication.

According to a temporary estimate of me First Historical Archive in Peking (Diyi lishi dang'an guan 第一歷史檔案館), where the secret Manchu documents are held, the 24 documents on the trial of Adam Schall were written on about 1400 pages, not including the duplicates. But our opinion is that the real amount of the pages is twice as much. I have been able to work on only 590 pages until now.[6]

These documents contain mostly interrogation records which were written in form of memorials and sent in by six officials—all Manchu or

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Zhang Yuzhu 張玉珠, Ha'erdai 哈爾岱, Dong Xibu 董西布, etc., to copy them [the originals] into the secret documents. After that the originals should be completely destroyed. Actually I do not have to leave anything referring to this decision of mine. But just in case proof is needed, I write it down here." See *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, p. 4.

[4] See Zhongguo shekeyuan minzu yanjiusuo (ed.), *Manzu shi rumen*, p. 73.

[5] For further information about him, see Hummel (ed.). *Eminent Chinese*, p. 893.

[6] The first part of the documents contains two memorials sent in by Kicebe and one by Giyešu in February 1665. The information about the other memorials and their authors is based on the contents description given by An Shuangcheng.

Bannersman—during the first eight months of 1665.[7] Some memorials of the first two officials have been already surveyed. The others are still to be confirmed. These six persons were:

1. Kicebe (Chin.: Qi Chebai 祁徹白)[8] who served as President of the Ministry of Rites from 1662 to 1667. He sent in 12 memorials with the main interest on the treatment of the missionaries.
2. Giyešu (Chin.: Jieshu 傑書)[9] with the title Prince Kang (Kang *qinwang* 康親王) who lived from 1645 to 1697, a direct descendant of the founding emperor Nurhaci. His memorials discuss mainly questions relating to Western astronomy.
3. Niman 尼滿 who served as President of the Ministry of Justice from 1663 to 1666.[10] In one of his memorials he pleads for a pardon for Adam Schall.
4. Fushou 富綬 with the title Prince Xian (Xian *qinwang* 顯親王)[11] deals in his sole memorial with the death penalty for the five Chinese astronomers.
5. Asha 阿思哈 who served as President of the Ministry of Civil Appointments[12] from 1662 to 1669 gives only one memorial, the content of which is still unknown.
6. Lu Chongjun 盧崇駿 who was serving as Governor General of Guangdong[13] at the time reports in his memorial about the accommodation of the missionaries.

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[7] According to the contents description of An Shuangcheng the first memorial was sent in during the twelfth lunar month of the 3rd year of the Kangxi period (i.e., January 1665) and the last one on the 29th of the 7th lunar month of the 4th year of the Kangxi period (i.e., August 1665).

[8] In his biography only his office period is known. See *Qingshi gao, j.* 180, pp. 6375–6384.

[9] It is noticable that Giyešu was only 20 years old when he sent in the memorial. Among the six persons he was regarded as being of most eminent birth. About him and his famous family, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 278.

[10] Niman (d. 1669), of the Fuca clan, was a member of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. For further information about him, see "Manzhou mingchen zhuan," *j.* 34, p. 993; *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian, j.* 43, 25a.

[11] Fushou was a son of Haoge 豪格 (1609–1648) and a grandson of the Emperor Taizong. See *Qingshi gao, j.* 219, p. 9047.

[12] See ibid., *j.* 180, pp. 6375–6378.

[13] After his surrender to the Manchus, Lu Chongjun (d. 1701) became a member of the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner and received several merits during the Shunzhi period. See *Qingshi gao, j.* 179, pp. 7087–7091; *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian, j.* 152, 42a. An Shuangcheng writes the surname wrong.

The texts of the interrogation records refer to matters of conflict which finally led to the committal of Schall and other missionaries. These matters are:

1. Chinese sciences, especially traditional astronomy and calendar-making. In these fields Schall tried to prove many errors in their methods.
2. Chinese tradition, such as *Yinyang*-doctrine and geomancy. The Chinese authorities proved a lack of competence on the part of Schall and his fellows with regards to the errors shown in the preparation for the funeral of Prince Rong (Rong *qinwang* 榮親王), who died as an infant.[14]
3. Christianity, which enjoyed considerable growth at that time. This was regarded as an offence by the missionaries against the autonomy of the native culture.

In the interrogations Yang Guangxian's criticism of Christianity and Western astronomy, which he published in his publication *Budeyi* 不得已 in the year 1664, was cited as proof against Schall.[15] The secret Manchu documents contain these points as well as the defence speech of Schall against the charges.

The seven interrogation records dealing with astronomy contain the ten disputed issues of Yang Guangxian published in the chapter "Zhemiu shilun" 摘謬十論 of his *Budeyi*[16] and five further ones. They aim mainly at Western astronomy and Schall's attitude toward Chinese astronomy. The points of controversy arose from the differences in time calculation referring to the division of one day into quarters, the setting of a leap month, the calculation of solar periods and eclipses of the sun and the moon, the making of calendars of merely 200 years, etc. The point last-mentioned was especially serious, because according to the opinion of Yang Guangxian Schall made the possible end of the dynasty forseeable with such a calendar. Trying to bring new knowledge of astronomy to China, Schall was faced with severe resistence and irrational motives. After all, the accusations of Yang Guangxian were hollow. They served to compromise the missionaries and to question their competence. As was to be expected, the supreme court judged the case in favour of the Chinese tradition. While it declared the Old Method (*jiufa* 舊法) of Yang Guangxian to be orthodox, there rose a critical voice of Prince Giyešu calling for a more thorough investigation of the whole case.

The proceedings concerning the funeral preparation for the Prince Rong, who died as an infant, were the content of five interrogation records. They refer mainly to two topics, namely the selection of the funeral day and the position of the grave according to geomancy regulations.[17] As a man of European learning Johann Adam Schall had no knowledge of geomancy as he himself explained: "I know only about things in astronomy and calendar-making." He thus had to follow the suggestions of his employees who worked out all the details for the funeral. He said: "They told me the day selected for the funeral was auspicious. Therefore, I put my seal on the paper and brought it to the ministry." His employees, nine Chinese astronomers, were blamed for working according to the doctrine of the five elements in the chapter "Hongfan" in *Shujing* 書經 (*"Hongfan" wuxing* 洪範五行) instead of the orthodox doctrine of the five elements (*zheng wuxing* 正五行). Thus, they affected not only the prince, but also the whole royal house inauspiciously. Due to various contradictory answers of the defendants the court interrogated them several times, individually and in small groups, in order to find out the individual guilt. From the text one gains a strong impression that each person tried to save his own life by denunciation of other colleagues. Everyone also tried very hard to deny possession or knowledge of some handbooks which were used for the selection of the funeral date. The text shows further the animosity between Adam Schall and his employees. It is understandable that the defendants did everything to clear themselves of guilt. One statement used was: "The reason why Adam Schall insists on our participation in the selection of the funeral day and says nothing to help us is merely that we did not convert to his religion." The judgement of the court was: As director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau (*Qintian jian* 欽天監) Schall was to bear the responsibility, although he did not select the funeral date personally. Of his employees, two had died previously, the rest were dismissed from their offices, delivered to the Ministry of Justice, and sentenced to death later.

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[14] Prince Rong was born of Donggo 棟鄂, the beloved concubine of the Shunzhi Emperor. Due to his strong affection for her, the Emperor gave the title to the prince posthumously, which was regarded as an exception.

[15] This is printed in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian*, vol. 3, pp. 1073–1302.

[16] See ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1169–1180.

[17] The *Veritable Records* of the Shunzhi period of the 11th lunar month of the year 1658 gives another version of the issue. According to this, the fault of the astronomers involved was having translated the hour wrongly from Chinese into Manchu. Thus the hour originally chosen was not used. The *Veritable Records* does not discuss whether this chosen hour was inauspicious or not whereas it was the central point of the interrogation as the secret documents reveal. Whether other parts of the secret documents mention the mistake through wrong translation is still to be confirmed.

The discussion about Christianity was written up in eight interrogation records. Another five refer to the penalty for the missionaries and their Chinese converts.

In the eyes of the Manchus, the booklet entitled *Tianxue chuan'gai* 天學傳概 written by the Chinese astronomer Li Zubo 李祖白 played an important role in the spread of the Christian Church in China.[18] This booklet contains statements such as that the ancient god of the Chinese people, Fuxi 伏羲, was a descendant of the people from Judea. This certainly insulted the Chinese and was an important reason for the accusation. Other issues in the Bible such as miracles and the Crucifixion of Christ were rejected because these details were not written in Chinese historical books and therefore considered false. Li Zubo was accused of having written the booklet without any investigation and of giving no references. When he was asked about this he named the missionaries as the source of his statements. The other charge was his citing the *Shujing* and the *Mengzi* 孟子. This was seen as trying to justify *Tianxue chuan'gai* with the help of the Chinese classics. Adam Schall emphasized that the citation of Chinese classics was Li Zubo's own idea. This defence seems to me an attempt to clear the missionaries of the suspicion that they made Chinese culture a part of Christianity—in the eyes of the Chinese another act of humiliation.

In connection with the booklet *Tianxue chuan'gai*, we should mention the author of the preface Xu Zhijian 許之漸.[19] The point for the supreme court was to find out the motive for his writing the preface and his relationship to the circle of Chinese converts. Xu declared that he was asked to write it by chance. The court did not believe that. On the contrary, the court was firmly convinced of Xu's friendship with the converts and his long study of the Christian doctrine. The writing of the preface for Li Zubo was obviously a natural result of this relationship. The next charge against Xu was that he named himself censor in the preface while he—at the time of writing—was a preceptor (*zhujiao* 助教) of rank 7B of the Imperial Academy (*Guozi jian* 國子監). This was a falsification of status and it deserved punishment. The participation of these two and several other civil servants of the state in the affair relating to the Christian Church

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[18] Reprinted in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian*, vol. 2, pp. 1043–1068.

[19] Xu served as a secretary of the Ministry of Finance after passing the court exam in 1655. As a censor he was known for his plea for some officials before the Emperor. See *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian, j.* 33, 54a.

evoked suspicion that Western Church doctrine would infiltrate the officers and bring danger to the government.

One other interest of the court was aimed at the circulation of this booklet. The court was convinced that Adam Schall sent this booklet systematically to other places like Shandong for the purpose of missionary work. Yet, the Franciscan fathers and some Chinese converts claimed that the booklet was brought to Shandong accidentally by someone unknown. Nevertheless, the court regarded the missionary zeal of Schall as proved. Some missionaries denied using the teaching of Schall, which the court believed *Tianxue chuan'gai* to be, for their missionary work. The statement of the Franciscan priest Father Antonio de Santa Maria "We do missionary work according to the teachings of Christ and not according to Adam Schall" seemed to diminish their relationship to the Jesuits in order to avoid any negative influence caused by the Jesuits. The spread of Christianity and the great number of converts gave the Qing government sufficient reason to suspect the missionaries of revolutionary activities. This was earnestly denied by the interrogated at every possible moment.

Other points of criticism refer to the frequency and the contents of church services. The court investigated especially whether one was forced to give up a sum of money to become a member of the church community. This was denied by all. The missionaries emphasized that the only money they took was the offering during the service, and the money collected was given to the poor at a later time.

The interrogation records about the penalty to apply mention the treatment of the 25 missionaries who were brought to Peking, the death sentence for Adam Schall and Li Zubo as well as their colleagues, the plea for a pardon for Adam Schall, and the confiscation of the booklet *Tianxue chuan'gai* by the local authorities. Some time later the supreme court ordered a somewhat milder treatment for the missionaries in house arrest. The texts show very evidently the strict attention of the court to the whereabouts of the missionaries. The local authorities were to know at any moment where the missionaries were working. Only by means of total observation could the government control the spread of the Christian Church and its religion in China.

Neither at the supreme court nor elsewhere did the attacks of Yang Guangxian remain unanswered. In 1665, Father Buglio published a book entitled *Budeyi bian* 不得已辯 to encounter Yang's criticism of Christianity.[20] The defence speech of Schall against Yang's criticism of astronomy was published in 1669/1670 by Ferdinand Verbiest, because Schall died in 1666, shortly after the trial. The publication of Verbiest bears the same title as Buglio's.[21] In it Verbiest explains not only Schall's answers to the interrogations, but also brings forward his own arguments which differ from those of Schall, but support nevertheless the ideas of the latter.

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[20] Reprinted in Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian*, pp. 225–332. A German translation with an introduction to the situation of Schall during the years of

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滿文秘檔湯若望案史料

清初順康時期朝廷以滿文抄錄當時機密文件而成的秘本檔在目前原件已失的情況下實屬珍貴，更是研究清初時期不可缺的材料。

滿文秘檔中有關湯若望案史料成於康熙初年。當時因楊光先控告湯若望誤製歷法而導致控訴天主教會傳播意於顛覆神州大國。清廷謹慎處理此案，由基層法庭終至會審，均由王公大臣審理。這部分檔案即是當時審訊的詳細記錄。

湯案檔為數共二十四，以奏書形式撰成，分由祁徹白、傑書、尼滿、富綬、阿思哈及盧崇駿等六人上奏。其所記載的審訊事由可總為三方面：

1. 中西歷法之辯
2. 起自榮親王葬事之五行之爭
3. 天主教傳播狀況之審

中西歷法之辯主於置閏、立春、定日之刻數等項差異。楊光先尤以湯若望只列兩百年於歷書中為大逆不道。楊光先告湯若望屬下官員在處理榮親王葬事採用洪範五行定方位，未用正五行而引來匈氣。

對天主教傳播的質詢著重於「天學傳概」一書的內容及其流傳。該書內容將中國人視為猶太人後裔，而中國文化為基督教文化之一部分。

此為蔑視中國，應為朝廷定罪。另外該書的流傳也被認為是推翻滿清的行動。

楊光先所提各控訴事由，湯若望及同會會士均强力反駁，但仍遭敗訴。

結果楊光先得掌欽天監，天主教傳教工作遭禁。直到1669年此案才得平反：康熙帝因楊光先掌歷出誤甚多而改命南懷仁出任欽天監監副，重新使用西洋歷法。南懷仁於1669/1670年間出一書名「不得已辯」。書中詳述湯若望當年受審時的供白。此外，南懷仁還補充一些解釋。即使論證方式偶有差異，仍不失為是一部對湯若望思想及論點提出佐證的著述。

■ Source: Mish, John L., 'A Catholic catechism in Manchu', in *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958), pp. 361–372. Reprinted with permission from the Monumenta Serica Institute.

A CATHOLIC CATECHISM IN MANCHU

John L. Mish

Whenever missionaries set out to preach their faith among people of a totally different cultural background, they are confronted with the formidable task of translating alien conceptions into another language that may have no equivalent words for them at all. In the case of China, this happened at least twice—if we except the limited, and rather local impact of Islam—: once in the first centuries of the Christian era, when Buddhism reached the country, and again in the 17th century, when Christian missionizing began in earnest. In both cases, skilful translators were able to build on native word material, by infusing new meanings into words already used. The early Buddhists took over many terms of Taoist philosophy (e.g. *tao* 道 for Buddha's "Aryan path"). In a similar way, the early Jesuits, beginning with Ricci, were able to use words which, owing to Buddhist influence, had acquired meanings that were at least akin to Christian conceptions. Such, for instance, is the word *ti-yü* 地獄 (*nai loo* in our Manchu text) which is employed for "hell", though Buddhist hells are essentially different from the Christian idea (they are only temporary, for one thing). Another is *endebuku*, Chinese *tsui* 罪 which is used for the Christian conception of "sin", though a Confucian scholar, a Taoist, and a Buddhist would understand it differently, each in his own way. The supreme ordeal in China was to find a suitable equivalent for "God". The existing words were deemed—correctly so—too vague, especially *shen* 神, which may mean any kind of spiritual being. The nearest equivalent might have been *t'ien* 天, but that was definitely too impersonal or pantheistic. After some deliberation, the Jesuits decided on *t'ien-chu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven), which was sanctioned by Rome. It is a most felicitous solution of the problem; and yet the entire controversy about how to render "God" best in Chinese was renewed in the 19th century, when the first Protestant missionaries arrived. As is well known, they finally agreed on the term *shang-ti* 上帝, which occurs already in the oldest Chinese literature extant. (See Creel, *Birth of China*, Third ed. 1957, pp. 181–184.)

The present catechism in Manchu is an abridged translation of a longer work by Ricci in Chinese (Pelliot in his typewritten catalogue No. 210 in the Vatican Library: "Abrégé du t'ien tchou ki [*sic!* should read: che] i de Ricci par Verbiest?" The whole work was likewise translated into Manchu, according to Professor Pasquale D'Elia, S. J., *Fonti Ricciane* II, p. 259, note 2). The author may very well have been Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1678). By that time, the technique of translating from Chinese into Manchu had been well-nigh perfected, so that Manchu equivalents for the newly created Chinese terms could be easily found (e.g. *abkai ejen* for *t'ien-chu* 天主).

At any rate, it is greatly to be admired how well these early missionaries learnt strange and difficult languages. The present little catechism in Manchu, one of the few known to exist, is a good example of the Jesuits' skill in translating.

The original of this curious book is kept in the Vatican Library (Borgiano Cinese No. 439G); a second copy is catalogued in the Raccolta Generale Orientale of the same library under No. 222. Neither date nor preface appear in either copy, but the wrapper of the second copy bears the handwritten inscription: S. Legis Compendium Lingua Tartarica, P. Ferd. Verbiest. This was probably added by the librarian who catalogued the book at the end of the 18th century. The printing is rather poor, and often faulty.

Manchu Text

Abkai ejen i enduringge tacihiyan i oyonggo gisun.

Abkai ejen serengge, uthai abka na enduri niyalma tumen jaka be banjibuha amba ejen inn. abka na niyalma eiten jaka neneme akû, amala banjihangge. abka na niyalma eiten jakai onggolo, urunakû emu ejen bifi, teni banjibuha kai. yaya jaka ini cisui šanggame muterakû, urunakû šanggaburengge bi. duibuleci, boo hûwa tai leose ini cisui ilime muterakû, urunakû faksisai galaci šanggara adali. abka na niyalma eiten jaka adarame ini cisui banjime mutembi? banjiburengge uthai abkai ejen kai. jalan i niyalma pan gu, fucihi, loo ze i jergi urse be yooni abka nai amargideri tucinjihe. ama emeci banjiha sembime, ememungge geli tere be hûlhi lampa be neihe; abka na niyalma eiten jaka be banjibuha sehengge, ambula jurcehebi dere. ememungge hendume: abka na niyalma eiten jaka be gemu abkai ejen banjibuha seci, abkai ejen be we banjibuhani? jabume: abkai ejen serengge, tumen jaka i fulehe da be dahame, banjiburengge bici, abkai ejen waka ombi. yaya jaka de deribun duben bisirengge, orho moo gasha gurgu inu. deribun bisire, duben akûngge, abka na enduri hutu; niyalma i fayangga inu. damu abkai ejen de deribun duben akû bime, tumen jaka be deribume dubembume mutembi. abkai ejen akû oci, eiten jaka gemu akû ombi kai. emu moo de duibuleci, terei ilga tubihe gargan abdaha cikten gemu fulehe ci banjinambi. fulehe akû oci, yaya jaka gemu akû ombi. moo i fulehe gûwa fulehe de akdahakûngge, tere uthai ini cisui banjinara turgun bifi kai. abkai ejen serengge, uthai tumen jaka i fulehe da be dahame, adarame banjiburengge bi seci ombi? abkai ejen tuktan tumen jaka be banjiburede, neneme abka na be faksalafi, yaya hacin i fulehe da be banjibufi, terei amala teni emu haha emu hehe banjibuha. hahai gebu adang, hehei gebu e wa; juwe niyalma be tumen irgen de unggu mafa obufi, abkai ejen geli fusembure ulara muten be bure jakade, tereci niyalma ishunde ulandume fusembuhei jalan jalan de lakcarakû ohobi. ere be tuwaha de, tiyan ju, abka na niyalma eiten jaka i unenggi ejen ofi, geli tumen jaka be banjibufi, niyalma de baitalabuhabi. jalan i niyalma abkai ejen be gingguleme jukterengge umesi giyan; ginggulerakû jukterakûci urunakû waka bahambi, duibuleci, ama eme de juse banjifi, ulembume etubume ujime tacihiyame hûwašabumbi. aikabade jui ojoro niyalma, ama eme be ginggulerakû oci, urunakû hiyoošun akû weile bahambi. abkai ejen serengge, niyalmai amba ama eme bime ginggulerakû oci ombio? damu tumen jaka i ejen be getukelehede, jalan i niyalmai baita be inu ja i ulhici ombi. niyalma de fayangga beye juwe hacin bi. terei beye udu bucecibe, fayangga dubentele mukiyerakû ombi. tuttu ofi, jalan i fayangga ilan jergi bi: dubengge be banjire fayangga sembi. ere uthai orho moo i fayangga inu. ere fayangga orho moo be wehiyeme fulhureme mutubumbi. orho moo sacibufi olhoho manggi, fayangga dahaduhai mukiyembi. dulimbaingge be sara fayangga sembi. ere uthai gasha gurgu i fayangga inu. ere fayangga gasha gurgu be wehiyeme fusembume banjibumbi. geli sabure donjire jetere congkire, beye nimere funcere be sambi. damu doro giyan be ulhirakû, bucehe manggi, fayangga inu dahaduhai mukiyembi. uju jergingge be sure fayangga sembi. ere uthai niyalma i fayangga inu. ede banjire sara juwe hacin i fayangga be kamcibure jakade, tuttu niyalma be wehiyeme banjibume mutubume ulhibumbime, geli doro giyan be hafufi, tumen baita de acabume mutembi. beye udu bucecibe, sure fayangga enteheme mukiyerakû ombi. tuttu ofi, jalan i niyalma bucehe eshun gurgu de gelerakû, bucehe niyalma de gelerengge; niyalmai banin sure ulhisu, udu bucecibe, terei mukiyerakû fayangga bifi kai. gasha gurgui umesi mukiyere fayangga de adali akû; niyalmai fayangga mukiyerakû be saci tetendere, geli dasame banjinjire, forhošome ubaliyara ninggun doro be akdaci ombio? giyan i banjirede, yabun i sain ehe be tuwame, bucehe manggi, meni meni *fayangga be abkai ejen i beidefi ilgame gamara babe saci acambi. sain urse be abkai dele wesimbufi, mohon akû hûturi be isibumbi. ere uthai abkai ejen i sain de karularangge. ehe urse be nai loo de dosimbufi, eiten hacin i erun be alibumbi. ere uthai abkai ejen i ehe be iseburengge. abkai ejen umesi tondo be dahame, sain de karularakû, ehe be iseburakûngge akû. jalan i niyalma ehe be yabumbime, bayara jirgara, sain be yabumbime, yadara joborongge adarame seci? tere niyalma bucehe manggi, abkai ejen sain be yabuha fayangga be, abkai dele gamafi mohon akû hûturi be isibumbi. ehe be yabuha fayangga be nai loo de dosimbufi mohon akû erun be alibumbi. aikabade abkai dergi hûturi, nai loo i jobolon akû oci, jalan i niyalmai sain ehe be aini karulambi isebumbi? tuttu oci, sain be yabure niyalma untu-huri ombime, ehe be yabure niyalma ele jabšambi kai. ere be geli abkai ejen i umesi tondo seci ombio? ememungge fonjime: sain ehe be ne jalan de karulara, turgun geli adarame? jabume: aikabade sain ehe be yooni bucehe manggi, ilgaci, mentuhun niyalma bucehe amargi weile be sarakû be dahame, abkai dele iletu ejen bisire be adarame serebuci ombi? tuttu ofi jurgan be fudarakangge be nimeku gashan jobolon de ucarabufi amaga be targabumbi. giyan de ijishûn ningge be hûturi be isibume, terei dulekede karulame jidere be huwekiyebumbi. ememungge sain be yabumbime yadame joborongge, sain i dorgi de ajige endebuku bifi, abkai ejen ne isebume jobobufi, bucehe manggi, hûturingga bade gamafi enteheme sebjelebumbi, ehe be yabumbime bayara jirgarangge, terei ehei dorgi de heni sain ba bifi, abkai ejen ne karulame jirgabufi, bucehe manggi, farhûn loode dosimbufi, tumen jobolon be alibumbi. jalan i niyalma na looi eiten hacin i jobolon ci guwefi, abkai dele wesifi mohon akû hûturi be aliki seci, urunakû ilan hacin be kice. emu hacin, abkai dergi ejen be unenggi ejen seme saci acambi. jalan i niyalma weri niyalmai boode ebufi tataki seci, urunakû neneme boo i ejen de baime gisurefi, teni teci ombi. abkai ejen be sarakû oci, abkai dergi mohon akû hûturi be aliki seci ombio? emu hacin, abkai dergi jugûn be uthai abkai ejen i doro seme saci acambi. jalan i niyalma tere bade geneki seci, tere jugûn be sarakû oci, tere bade bahafi isinarakû, abkai dergi jugûn be sarakû oci, adarame bahafi isinambi? emu hacin, urunakû saha babe yabuci acambi. niyalma udu genere jugûn be bahanacibe, boode ekisaka tefi, tucifi yaburakû oci, bahafi isinarakû. aikabade abkai mohon akû hûturi bisire bade isinaki seci, urunakû abkai ejen i enduringge tacihiyan i baita be yabuci acambi kai. ememungge fonjime: tiyan ju, abka na niyalma eiten jaka i ejen bime, terei unenggi doro, abkai dele wesire jugûn be gemu bahafi donjiha. damu abkai ejen i enduringge tacihiyan be dahame yabubure doro adarame? jabume: enduringgei tacihiyan de dosiki seci urunakû juwe hacin be kice. uju de unenggi mujilen be jafafi, nenehe endebuku be geterembume dasa. jai de tiyan ju i juwan targacun be dahara de bi. abkai ejen i juwan targacun: uju de, abkai ejen be tumen jaka i dele bi seme ginggule. jai de, abkai ejen i enduringge gebu be hûlame holtome ume gashûre. ilaci de, juktere doloro inenggi be ume jurcere. duici de, ama eme be hiyoošula. sunjaci de, niyalma be ume wara. ningguci de, dufe langse be ume yabure. jakûci de, sarakû ume siden ilire, uyuci de, weri hehe be ume buyere. juwanci de, weri ulin be ume bahaki sere, ere juwan targacun be juwe hacin de baktamburengge, abkai ejen be tumen jaka i dele bi seme ginggule; niyalma be gosirengge, beye i adali gûnirede bi. ere uthai nenehe inenggi abkai ejen i hese i jalan i gubci niyalma be gingguleme daha sehe ba. sain be yabuci, abkai dele wesimbufi hûturi be isibumbi. ehe be yabuci, nai loo de wasimbufi erun be isibumbi. ere ududu hacin be tucibuhengge cohome amba muru. aikabade abkai ejen i doro be wacihiyame saki seci, urunakû abkai ejen i yargiyan jurgan i hacin hacin i bithe be narhûšame tuwaha de, teni hafu. ulhifi kenehunjerakû ombi. ere doro be emu gisun i teile de wacihiyame muterakû.*

English Translation

The Lord of Heaven[1] is the Great Lord who created heaven, earth, spirits,[2] man, and all things.[3] Heaven, earth, man, and nature did not exist before, but came into existence afterwards. Before heaven, earth, man, and nature there necessarily was one Lord who created them.[4] Nothing can complete itself; it must be completed (by somebody). For instance, houses, gardens, terraces, towers cannot arise by themselves; they must needs be completed by the hands of artisans. Then how can heaven, earth, man, and nature originate in themselves? The One who created them is surely the Lord of Heaven. People of this world, such as P'an Ku,[5] Buddha, and Laotzu, appeared after heaven and earth. They are said to have been born from a father and a mother, and some maintain also that they resolved the inert chaos, and thus created heaven, earth, man, and nature; but there are great contradictions here. Some will say: if the Lord of Heaven created heaven, earth, man, and nature, who created Him? The answer is: if the

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[1] Literal translation of *t'ien chu* 天主, adopted by the Catholic Church for "God."

[2] *Enduri*, Chinese *shen* 神: any supernatural being; a god. Hence unsuitable to express the idea of "One God".

[3] Chinese *wan wu* 萬物; commonly used to express "all things, i. e., nature".

[4] *Banjibuha*, lit. "brought into being"; the nearest equivalent for creation from nothing, though not quite the same.

[5] P'an Ku 盤古, the mythical demiurge of China, who chiselled the earth out of chaos.

Lord of Heaven, being the root and origin of all things, were created, He would not be the Lord of Heaven. Everything has a beginning and an end, as grass, trees, birds, or animals. Some things have a beginning, but no end; as heaven, earth, spirits, and demons; the soul[6] of man belongs to this class. Only the Lord of Heaven has neither beginning nor end, and thus can Himself begin or end all things. If there were no Lord of Heaven, there would be no universe or nature, either. Let us take a tree, for example. Its flowers, fruit, branches, leaves, and trunk all come from the root. If there were no root, there would be nothing else, either. The root of the tree does not depend on any other root, but is the very reason by itself for the growth of the tree. The Lord of Heaven is the very root of nature—how can He be said to have been created? When the Lord of Heaven at the beginning created the universe, He first distinguished between heaven and earth, and created the first roots of everything; then He made a man and a woman. The man's name was Adang;[7] the woman's, Ewa. These two people He made the ancestors of all nations, and since the Lord of Heaven gave them the power to multiply and succeed each other, mankind has existed uninterruptedly for long generations, multiplying and succeeding each other. This shows that God[8] is the true Lord of Heaven, earth, man, and nature; has created everything, and given it to man for his use. It is very appropriate that the people of this world should therefore worship the Lord of Heaven and sacrifice[9] to Him. If they did not worship Him and sacrifice to Him, they would certainly do wrong.[10] We may compare this to parents with children, whom they feed, clothe, educate, teach, and foster; if a child does not honor its parents, it will undoubtedly commit the crime of wanting in filial piety. How, then, may one not worship the Lord of Heaven, considering that He is man's superior father and mother? Since He is revealed as the Lord of all creation, He can easily understand the affairs of men in this world. Man has a soul and a body. Though the body

dies, the soul never perishes. There are three kinds of souls in this world: the lowest[11] is called "vegetating soul". This is the soul of grass and trees. This soul protects grass and trees, and makes them grow and thrive. When grass or trees are cut and become dry, their souls perish immediately. The middle kind is called "perceiving soul". This is the soul of birds and animals. This soul protects birds and animals, and brings them into being by multiplying. It also can see, hear, eat, peck with the bill, be ill, etc. However, it does not understand moral principles, and when the animal dies, the soul perishes with it. The highest kind is called the "intelligent soul". This is the soul of man. As it combines the vegetating and perceiving souls in itself, it can protect man, reproduce him, make him grow and become wise, and by thoroughly understanding moral principles, bring him into harmony with nature. Although the body dies, the "intelligent soul" never perishes.[12] Therefore, the people of this world do not fear a dead, uncured animal, but they are afraid of a dead human being.[13] Man's nature is intelligent and perceptive, and though he dies, he has an unperishable soul. It is not at all like that of a bird or animal, which perishes; and if it is known that man's soul does not perish, how can anyone believe in the six ways of rebirth and transmigration?[14] It must be known that the Lord of Heaven sees the good or bad conduct during man's life exactly; and after man's death, He judges each soul, taking it to separate places. Good people are sent to the upper heaven, where they obtain unending happiness. This is how the Lord of Heaven rewards the good. Bad people are made to enter hell,[15] where they undergo all kinds of punishments. This is how the Lord of Heaven chastises the wicked. The Lord of Heaven, being eminently just, cannot but reward the good, and punish the wicked. But how can it be explained that the people of this world are often rich and have leisure, though they do wicked deeds; or poor and afflicted, though they do good deeds? This is because after death the souls of those who have done good

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[6] *Fayangga*, the "*yang*-soul", a well-chosen word for the Christian conception of "soul". It is the spiritual part of man, whereas *hutu* is the animal soul, which perishes with the body (Chinese *hun* 魂, and *p'o* 魄, respectively).

[7] The spelling *Adang*, through Chinese *Ya tang* 亞當, seems to point to either Portuguese or French origin, since the last syllable of this name is nasalized in these two languages only (French "Adam"; Portuguese "Adão").

[8] The Chinese *t'ien chu* 天主, is used here as elsewhere in transliteration.

[9] The word *jukterengge* denotes any offering, and thus has a wider meaning than the English "sacrifice".

[10] *Waka bahambi*. The new, Christian concept of "sin" is expressed by one of three words: *endebuku*=error, mistake; *waka*=wrong; *weile*=crime, guilt. The same words are used in Taoist and Buddhist texts, but again the underlying ideas are different.

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[11] *Dubengge*, lit. "the last".

[12] This theory of the three "souls" appears to be a possible concession to Chinese thinking, since Christianity recognizes a soul proper only in man. The phrase *tumen baita de acabume* has a Taoist ring, "life according to nature" being the essence of Taoist philosophy.

[13] Because an animal's soul perishes together with its body, people need not fear its becoming a ghost, as might be the case with a human soul.

[14] According to Buddhist belief, man's characteristic element may become the nucleus of another being, of whom there are six: gods, men, demons, animals, hungry ghosts, and offenders in hell.

[15] *Nai loo*=earth prison, a literal translation of Chinese *ti-yü* 地獄, a Buddhist term. It has to be remembered that in Buddhism hell is not eternal, but temporary.

are sent by the Lord of Heaven to the upper heaven, where they obtain unending happiness; whereas the souls of those who have done evil are made to enter hell, where they undergo unending punishment. If there were no celestial happiness, nor infernal grief, how could the good people of this world be rewarded, or the wicked punished? If this were so, people would do good in vain, and those who do evil would even profit by it. Could the Lord of Heaven then be said to be eminently just? Some may ask: how about requiting both the good and the evil already in this world? The answer is: If a distinction is made between the good and the wicked after death, it is because man, being stupid, and not knowing about punishments after death, could not be made to realize the existence of a manifest Lord high up in heaven. Thus posterity is warned that violating the moral law entails disease, grief, and misfortune. Those who obey the moral law are encouraged by obtaining happiness, and by being rewarded in the end. Some who do good and yet are poor and afflicted, have some slight sins among their virtues; therefore the Lord of Heaven punishes and afflicts them a little here below. But after their death, they are taken to a place of bliss, and allowed to rejoice for ever. Those who do evil and yet are rich and have leisure, though there may be a little good in their wickedness, are allowed by the Lord of Heaven to enjoy themselves temporarily as a reward; but after their death they are put in a dark prison, and have to undergo all kinds of afflictions. Now, if the people of this world wish to escape from the afflictions of hell, go to heaven, and obtain unending happiness, they must strive for three things. First, they must realize that the High Lord of Heaven is the true Lord. When a man of this world wants to stay at the house of a stranger, he will undoubtedly ask the owner of the house first, and then he may stay there. If one does not know the Lord of Heaven, how is it possible to want to obtain perpetual bliss in heaven? In the second place, it is necessary to realize that the way to heaven is also the path of the Lord. If the people of this world wish to go there, they will not be able to reach their goal unless they know the way; and if they do not know the way to heaven, how can they get there? In the third place, one must do what once has become known. Though a man may know the way to go, if he sits at home quietly without going out, he cannot arrive there. If he wants to reach the place of everlasting bliss in heaven, he must carry out the Lord's holy teaching. Some may ask: We have heard that God is the Lord of heaven, earth, man, and nature, and that His true doctrine is the path which leads to heaven. But which is the way to follow and put into practice His holy teaching? The answer is: Whoever wants to penetrate this holy teaching must strive for two things. First of all, he must possess a true heart, and purify himself of all former sins. Secondly, he must follow God's Ten Commandments. These are, then, the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven:

First, worship the Lord of Heaven as being superior to all things. Second, do not swear by calling the Lord's name falsely. Third, do not violate the day of sacrifice and ceremonies (i.e., Sunday). Fourth, honor father and mother with filial piety. Fifth, do not kill human beings. Sixth, do not indulge in impure lust.[16] Eighth, do not bear witness ignorantly. Ninth, do not covet a stranger's wife. Tenth, do not wish to obtain a stranger's possessions. These Ten Commandments are contained in two rules, *viz.*,: worship the Lord of Heaven above all things; and love others, thinking of them as of yourself. This is what is meant by honoring all men in this world according to the command of the Lord of Heaven, issued a long time ago. If you do good, you will be taken up to heaven and attain happiness; if you do evil, you will be sent down to hell and undergo punishment. By making known these few points, a particularly great ideal has been set up. If you want to know the way of the Lord completely, you must study books which give details of the Lord's true doctrine, and penetrate them. Once they are understood, there is no more doubt. This path[17] cannot be completely explained in one word only.

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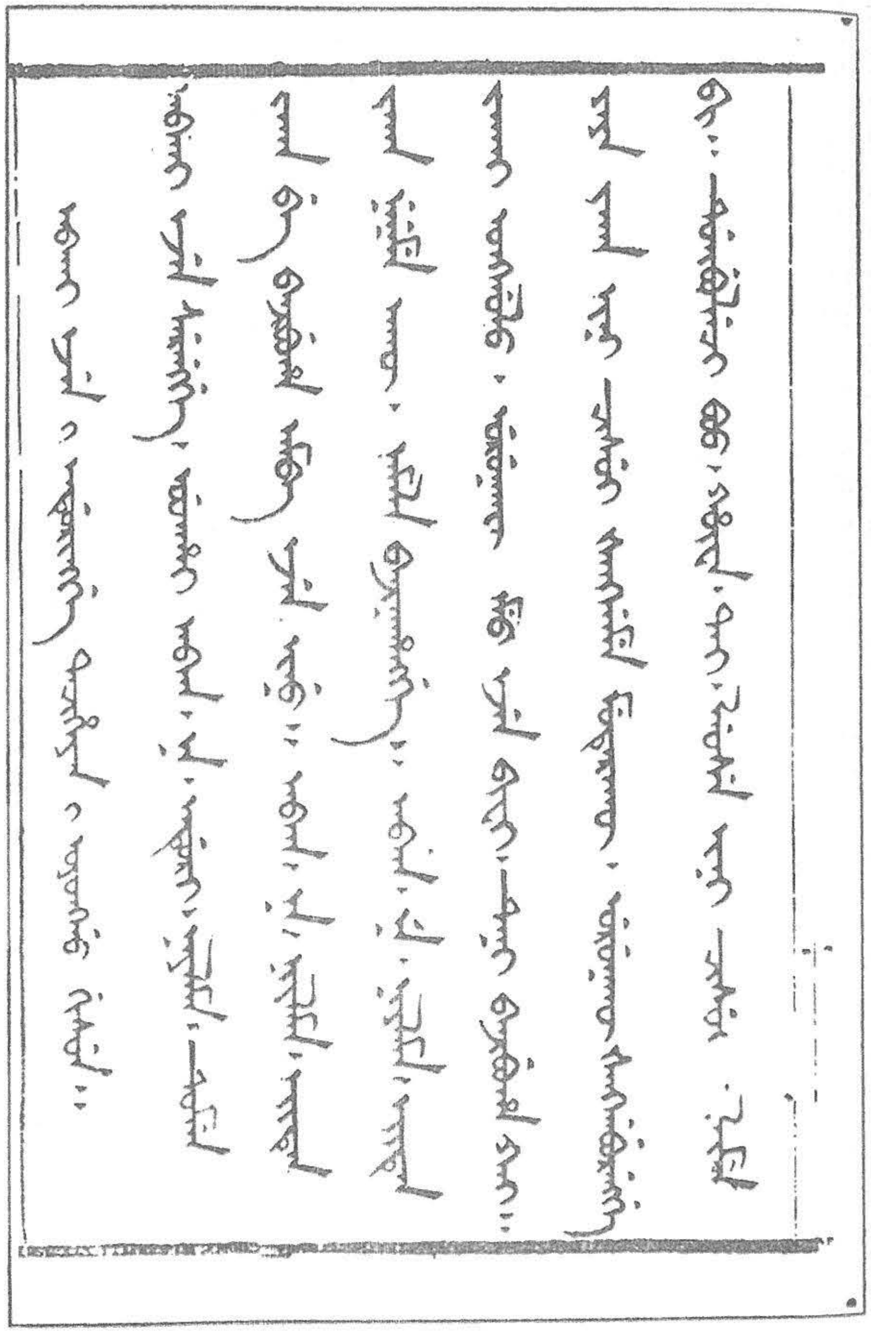
[16] The Seventh Commandment has been omitted, possibly through a printer's oversight.

[17] Notice the word *doro* here, always used for the Buddhist or Taoist "path".



First page of manuscript, Borgiano Cinese No. 439G.

■ Source: Okada, Hidehiro, 'Jesuit influence in K'ang-Hsi's Manchu letters', in Stary, Giovanni (ed.), *Proceedings of the XXVIII Permanent International Altaistic Conference: Venice*, 8–14 July 1985, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989, pp. 165–171.

JESUIT INFLUENCE IN EMPEROR K'ANG-HSI'S MANCHU LETTERS

Hidehiro Okada

1. *Solar Eclipse*

On April 21, 1697, Emperor K'ang-hsi of the Manchu Ch'ing Dynasty observed a solar eclipse at the city of Ning-hsia in the northwestern corner of his empire, where he had travelled to organize a final offensive operation on his mortal enemy, Galdan Bošoqtu Xān of the Žūn Γar Oyirad who was hiding himself at the eastern end of the Altai Mountains and looking for a chance to slip away into safety of Tibet. Actually Galdan had already died by that time but the emperor had no way of knowing that fact.[1]

On that occasion, the emperor sent a letter in Manchu to his Crown Prince In Ceng who was taking care of the government back in Peking in the father's absence, which said:

> Since our arrival here, observations with instruments have revealed the Polar Star to be lower by one degree and twenty minutes than in the Imperial Capital. The distance between [the Capital in] the east and [Ning-hsia in] the west is two thousand one hundred and fifty li. I entrusted An Do with calculation according to these data, and he said that the sun would be eclipsed by nine minutes and forty-six seconds. On that day it was bright and sunny. On observation the sun was eclipsed by nine minutes and some thirty seconds. It became completely dark, but no stars appeared. Seen from Ning-hsia, the Imperial Capital is slightly to the north than due east. It rained on the third (April 23). I write this so that you will know. Tell the Manchu ministers about this.[2]

This letter is the only reference to the Jesuit missionaries in K'ang-hsi's court made by the emperor himself.

An Do 安多 was the Chinese name of Father Antoine Thomas.[3] He was born at Namur in Belgium on January 25, 1644, son of Philippe Thomaz, a lawyer, and his wife Marie Derheyt. Antoine studied at the new Jesuit college in Namur, and entered the novitiate of the Jesuits of Tournai on September 24, 1660. He became well versed in mathematics, geometry and astronomical calculations, and repeatedly asked Father General Oliva of the Jesuit order to be accepted for missions in the Far East, until the permission was finally given him in 1677. He left for Portugal by way of Burgos, Spain, and was in Coimbra in March, 1678, where he studied mathematics at the university. He sailed from Lisbon on April 3, 1680, for Japan, and arrived in Goa on September 26. From Goa he left for Siam on May 13, 1681, and was in Ayuthia, the Siamese capital, on September 1. There he made acquaitance of Constance Phaulkon, the powerful prime minister of King Phra Narai. Phaulkon was a Venetian born from a Greek mother at La Custode on the island of Cephalonia, and had embraced Anglicanism in England before finally coming to Siam. It is said that Father Thomas succeded, while staying in Ayuthia, in converting and baptizing Phaulkon who became until his death a zealous protector of the Catholic missionaries and their religion. All this is highly doubtful, in view of his opportunist character. Anyway, Constance Phaulkon, whose wife was a Japanese Catholic of high birth, was killed in an internal disorder in 1688 at the age of 41.

On May 20, 1682, Father Antoine Thomas left Ayuthia and arrived at Macao on July 4. It so happened that in Peking, Father Ferdinand Verbiest was advanced in age and looking for a successor in his duties at the imperial court. Father Philippe Grimaldi also was in feeble health. Father Verbiest spoke to Emperor K'ang-hsi about bringing Father Thomas to the court, and with an imperial consent dispatched Father Grimaldi with two officials from the Board of Rites to the Portuguese colony. They left Macao aboard a flotilla of boats on August 19, 1685, sailed inland by way of Kan-chou, Nan-ch'ang, Nanking and T'ung-chou, and arrived in Peking on November 8. At the imperial court Father Thomas was employed to teach the emperor the usage of instruments, geometry and practical arithmetics.

In 1691, Fathers Antoine Thomas and Jean-François Gerbillon accompanied the emperor on an expedition into Mongolia. The occasion was the famous Assembly of Doloγan Naγur, at which K'ang-hsi received formal pledges of allegiance from the Outer Mongolian Qalqa princes who had taken refuge in Inner Mongolia escaping the devastation of their homeland by the invading army of Galdan Bošoqtu Xān of the Žūn Γar Oyirad.

In 1696, Fathers Thomas Pereira, J.-Fr. Gerbillon and Antoine Thomas again left Peking with the emperor, this time on a military expedition into Outer Mongolia against Galdan who had established himself on the Kerülen. This was Emperor K'ang-hsi's first Mongolian campaign, which defeated Galdan decisively at J̌aγun Modu on the Tuula.

In October of the same year, the fathers accompanied the emperor on his second Mongolian campaign which lasted until January, 1697, taking them as far as the land of the Ordos tribes along the Yellow River.

The third imperial campaign into Mongolia took place between February, 1697, and July of the same year. The emperor learned of Galdan's death on his way home, and the Žūn Γar problem was settled for the time being for the Manchu Ch'ing Empire. On this occasion, Father Thomas announced in advance the solar eclipse of April 21, 1697, and the troops were warned so as not to cause panic on the event. Antoine informed the Academie des Sciences in Paris of that eclipse, which he observed with J.-Fr. Gerbillon, at the city of Ning-hsia. The report is preserved in Paris, in *Archives de l'Observatoire*, AA 4° 36, p. 134. This was the eclipse referred to in the Manchu letter of the emperor.

In 1702 Father Thomas was ordered by the emperor to measure the length of one degree of the meridian of the earth, and throughout the work which lasted for more than a month he was assisted by the third son of the emperor. It evidently became a foundation for the later project of drawing up a complete atlas of the empire, the famous *Huang Yü Ch'üan Lan T'u.* But Father Thomas did not live long enough to see the completion of that project. He died in Peking on July 28, 1709, at the age of 65.

2. *Geography*

Father Joachim Bouvet describes, in his *Histoire de l'Empereur de la Chine* presented to King Louis XIV of France in 1697, how K'ang-hsi was fond of his astronomical instruments, which he had carried around whereever he went and himself operated with the assistance of the Jesuit missionaries. His Manchu letters also reflect this fact.

On the first Mongolian campaign in 1696, the emperor was on the border of Inner and Outer Mongolias, ready to cross the Gobi Desert. On May 14 he wrote to his Crown Prince:

> My measurement from Du Ši City to the border gives eight hundred li. Everyday it is smaller than what those who have preceded me measured. The distance between the Imperial Capital and Du Ši seems rather short. It is possibly less than four hundred twenty-three li. The Crown Prince should find out about this by dispatching a person to measure it. Observed with instruments on the border, the Polar Star is higher by five degrees in altitude than in the Imperial Capital. Calculated on the basis of this, the distance is one thousand two hundred and fifty li.[4]

As we have already seen, the emperor was accompanied by Fathers Antoine Thomas, Thomas Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon on this expedition. Therefore it is certain that Father Thomas assisted the emperor in finding out the distance between Peking and the border between Outer and Inner Mongolias by the altitude of the Polar Star.

3. *Medicine*

On June 1, 1696, Emperor K'ang-hsi was at Tuwering Bulak in Outer Mongolia with his army ready to strike at Galdan's camp on the Kerülen. From this jumping-off ground before the final assault on the enemy, the emperor wrote to his Crown Prince, among other things:

> Send to me with your reports on various affairs as soon as this letter of mine reaches you ten taels of the European medicine called *žulebeberaldu* which is prepared at Yang Sin Diyan for imperial use well sealed, and five catties of good ginger.[5]

To this the Crown Prince answered:

> I have already sent to you five catties of fresh ginger, and the European *žulebe beraldu*, all one catty and fifteen taels available at home at present, well sealed, which you imperially commanded to send. I am now having the medicine prepared in accordance with the former way of preparation.[6]

This European medicine was again referred to by the emperor in December, 1696, when he was at Hūsutai in Inner Mongolia on his second Mongolian campaign:

> As General Sabsu is ill, I have sent for his use all the liquid medicine called *žulebeberaldu* that I had. Meiren Janggin Balin who came from the Imperial Capital the day before yesterday is very weak and ill. I want to give it to him but it is all gone. Some more of it must be prepared. After this letter of mine reaches you, put it in some small glass bottles and send them to me.[7]

Yang-hsin Tien 餐心路 is the name of the personal residence of the emperor in the Forbidden City of Peking. The name of the European liquid medicine prepared for personal use of K'ang-hsi seems to indicate that it is a kind of julep. Julep, sometimes latinized as zulapium, is a loan word from Arabic *jūlāb*, which in turn goes back to Persian *gūl-āb*, litterally 'rose water.' It is a liquid medicine of agreeable taste, prepared by mixing together various cardiac tonics, whiskey, sugar, mint and water.[8] *Beraldu* sounds like a French or Italian personal name, such as Perrault or Berraldo. Though it has not been determined if such julep was in use in

the seventeenth-century Europe for medical use, it was certainly owing to the medical knowledge of the Jesuit missionaries that Emperor K'ang-hsi depended on such European liquid medicine for his everyday use.

Such are Jesuit influence we find in Emperor K'ang-hsi's Manchu letters.[9]

Notes

1. Emperor K'ang-hsi's Manchu letters written on the occasion of his three Mongolian campaigns have been reproduced in: *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, Nos. 8 & 9, National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1977. They are extensively quoted in Japanese translation in: Hidehiro Okada, *Kōki Tei no Tegami*, Chūō Kōron Sha, Tokyo, 1979. For English reference, see: H. Okada, "Outer Mongolia through the eyes of Emperor K'ang-hsi," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, No. 18, 1979, and H. Okada, "Galdan's death: When and how," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 37, 1979.

2. *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, No. 8, pp. 793–794:

   meni ubade isinjihai, i ki de kemneme tuwaci ging hecen ci hadaha usiha, emu du orin fun fangkala. dergi wargi goro juwe minggan emu tanggū susai ba. ere be an do de afabufi fa i kooli songkoi bodobufi, šun jeterengge uyun fun dehi ninggun miyoo jembi sehe bihe. ere inenggi getuken galga. kemneme tuwaci uyun fun gūsin udu miyoo jeke. umai farhūn oho. usiha tucike ba akū. ning hiya ci ging hecen be tob dergi ci majige amasi tuwambi. ice ilan de agaha. erebe bai sakini seme jasiha. manju ambasa de ala.

For Japanese translation, see H. Okada, "Kōki Tei to temmongaku," *Rekishi to Chiri*, 312, 1981.

3. For Antoine Thomas' biography, see Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuits de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552–1773*, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932, Tome I, Chang-hai, pp. 403–410. See also Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Un Belge Mandarin à la Cour de Chine aux XVII^e et XIII^e Siècles*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1977.

4. *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, No. 8, pp. 130–131:

   du ši hoton ci karun de isibume futalaci jakūn tanggū ba bi: neneme yabuha ursei futa i ton ci inenggidari ekiyehun: ging hecen ci du ši de isibume tuwaci ba umesi cinggiya. ainci duin tanggū orin ilan ba akū. hūwang taidz emu niyalma tucibufi futalabume tuwa: karun i bade i ki i hadaha usiha be kemneci ging hecen ci sunja du den. ede teherebume ba i ton be baicaci emu minggan juwe tanggū susai ba:

For Japanese translation, see H. Okada, *Kōki Tei no Tegami*, p. 54.

5. *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, No. 8, p. 189:

   yang sin diyan de weilehe si yang i žulebeberaldu sere dele baitalara okto be gingguleme fempilefi juwan yan: eshun sain giyang duin gin be ere bithe isinahai baita suwaliyame boo de unggi

For Japanese translation, see H. Okada, *Kōki Tei no Tegami*, p. 65.

6. *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, No. 8, p. 178:

   jai dergici unggi sehe ice giyang sunja gin, si yang ni žulebe beraldu be gingguleme fempilefi boode bisire uheri emu gin tofohon yan be yooni unggihe. neneme weilehe songkoi belheme niyeceme weilebumbi:

7. *Secret Palace Memorials of the K'ang-hsi Period*, No. 8, pp. 451–452:

   jiyanggiyūn sabsu nimeme ofi mini jakade bihe, žulebeberaldu sere lu be wacihiyame bufi unggihe. cananggi ging hecen ci jihe meiren janggin balin umesi yadalinggū nimembi. tede buki seci wajihabi. erebe majige belherakū oci ojirakū: ere bithe isinaha manggi, emu udu ajige boli tamsu de tebufi unggi.

For Japanese translation, see H. Okada, *Kōki Tei no Tegami*, p. 125.

8. Information on julep as a medical term is owed to personal communication in a letter to the present reporter from Dr. Masahiro Okada, a famous Japanese pharmacologist and member of the Japan Academy who happens to be his father.

9. For chronology on these Manchu letters of Emperor K'ang-hsi see H. Okada, "Mongoru shinsei ji no Seiso no Mambun shokan," *Nairiku Ajia, Nishi Ajia no Shakai to Bunka*, Yamakawa Shuppar Sha, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 303–321.

■ Source: Walravens, Hartmut, 'Christian literature in Manchu: Some bibliographical notes', in *Monumenta Serica*, 48 (2000), pp. 445–469. Reprinted with permission from the Monumenta Serica Institute.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN MANCHU
SOME BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

Hartmut Walravens

Manchu history, as the history of Ch'ing dynasty China, has for a long time been an accepted field of study with a wealth of archival materials; hovever, the linguistic analysis of it's only traditional written Tungus language and Manchu literature was considered a waste of time for quite a while. Rare exceptions are devoted to a few original Manchu works which are not translated from the Chinese, and to some classical and historical items. Religious translations were put aside for specialists who, however, have not yet discovered this field of research. Since the Buddhist literature of the Manchus has been dealt with already elsewhere, let us here turn to Christian works. This is actually a synonym for Catholic works because the other denominations did not care for the language, except for the translation of the Bible which was done by a Russian Orthodox and partly influenced by earlier Jesuit works.

The reason for this Catholic dominance is easily explained: It was the Jesuits who were at the Chinese Court during the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ienlung periods, which marked the high tide of the Manchu language. When the Protestant missionaries entered the scene, the Manchu population had already widely assimilated, and there was hardly any need for Manchu translations any more, except in very remote areas.

This situation resulted in a very meagre information on Manchu Christian works, and the most comprehensive source is still Berthold Laufer's useful sketch of Manchu Literature, published in 1908 in the Hungarian journal *Keleti Szemle*. The following is a summary of Laufer's article.

Catholic Literature

The Jesuit missionaries who went to China at the end of the 16th century recognized the importance of Manchu rather early; a large number of them learned the language. The K'ang-hsi emperor favoured such literary enterprises. He commissioned them to write treatises on music and science in Chinese and Manchu. Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet who after seven to eight months of study had gained considerable fluency in Manchu prepared a translation of the Euclidian *Elements* into this language "which is easier and much nicer than the Chinese" as Bouvet said. They enriched the *Elements* with all sentences which they considered important for the instruction of the monarch. After he had studied the elements of geometry, he ordered the preparation of a complete handbook of practical geometry in Manchu. He also wanted to devote himself to the study of scholastic philosophy, and so the two missionaries translated the old and new philosophy by Duhamel[1] for him. They also composed in the Manchu language about twenty short treatises on medicine and anatomy which won the monarch's attention to a high degree.

In 1723, Father Parennin (1665–1741) sent copies of Manchu translations on anatomy, medicine, and physics, which originated from the Jesuit mission, to the Academy of Sciences in Paris. In his accompanying letter he mentioned that they were translated by special order of the emperor and under his supervision, and that so far he had been busy with translations from Manchu into European languages and translations from French, Latin, Portuguese, and Italian into Manchu.

One of the major works of Matteo Ricci, *The True Doctrine of God*, published first in Chinese in 1601, was printed in 1758 in Manchu translation. Giulio Aleni's (1582–1649) book on the *True Origin of All Things* (Chinese 1628) was also translated; likewise, Ferdinand Verbiest's (1623–1688) *Explanation of the Most Important Doctrines of the Church* (Chinese 1677). The Manchu version was denounced and prohibited in an imperial edict of 1805. Verbiest certainly belonged to the best experts in Manchu among the Jesuits. The second volume of Thevenot's *Relations de divers voyages* (1696) contains a Manchu grammar, *Elementa Linguae Tartaricae*, under Gerbillon's name. Other sources maintain that Verbiest was its author, and Alexander Wylie considered this possible as the catalogue of the Jesuits' works published in China mentions a *Grammatica Tartarica* among Verbiest's works. De Mailla's (1669–1748) book on the *Holy Year* deserves mentioning; it was also translated from the Chinese (1738) into Manchu and prohibited in 1805.

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[1] Jean Baptiste Duhamel (1624–1706), author of *De consensu veteris et novae philosophiae libri quatuor*. Paris 1663; *Philosophia vetus et nova ad usum scholae accomodata* (Paris 1678).

Also parts of the Bible were edited by the Jesuits in Manchu but we do not have bibliographic knowledge of them. J. Edkins, however, found parts of Genesis and Exodus complete in Manchu and briefly analyzed them; he showed that it was the work of Catholics but no indication as to translator and time was given.

Bible Translations

The Russian Bible Society had discussed the question of a Manchu translation of the Bible already in 1816 but because of an overload of other work nothing had happened. In 1821, Dr. Pinkerton of the British and Foreign Bible Society was commissioned to start this work, and he in turn hired Stepan Lipovcov, the Manchu interpreter of the Russians, who had studied this language for fourteen years. A translation of the gospel of St. Matthew was published in 1823, and by the end of 1825 the whole New Testament had been translated, but the Russian Government did not decide on the printing. W. Swan of the London Missionary Society went to St. Petersburg in 1832 in order to copy a manuscript in the possession of the Holy Synod, which contained parts of the Old Testament, Matthew, and the Acts and had been prepared, together with a Chinese interlinear version, at the end of the 18th century by Louis de Poirot in Peking. In 1833, George Borrow was sent to St. Petersburg to study Manchu, and there he and Swan completed a copy of parts of the Old Testament. E. Stallybrass, who wanted to use it in China, prepared a second copy of it, which was completed in 1850. In 1834, George Borrow as an agent of the British Bible Society received permission from the Russian government to print the whole New Testament under Lipovcov's supervision and censorship. The work took ten months to complete, and an edition of one thousand copies was sent to London in 1836. St. Matthew and St. Mark were republished in Shanghai in 1859, under the supervision of Alexander Wylie. Afterwards, there was no reason to publish further parts of the Scriptures in Manchu.

Before we glance at the few other items that have been published since then and which add just a few mosaic stones to Laufer's essay without providing new insights, let us look at the interesting imperial comment of 1805 on some Christian publications. It is an extract from the *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 大清會典事例, vol. 868,[2] pp. 8–10:

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[2] This volume is neither recorded in Walter Fuchs: *Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke. Nebst einer Standortliste der sonstigen Mandjurica* (Wiesbaden:

> The foreigners from the West having formerly endeavoured to disseminate their religion among the Manchus in the capital, and having privately printed and distributed books in the Manchu character, severe prohibitions against this practice have several times been published, and orders have been given that the books issued from their various establishments be sought for and destroyed; these ought to be delivered to the great minister of arms to examine them and attach fly leaves, upon which each passage that requires inspection may be pointed out. I have at leisure times looked over some of these. In the *Chiao-yao hsü-lun* it is said: 'The Lord of Heaven is the great prince of all kingdoms.' In the *Sheng-nien kuang-i* it is said: 'The incarnate Jesus in whom we believe, is the great prince of all men and creatures under heaven'; again, 'In China, false creeds are termed sinister doctrines, by which expression, they are undoubtedly conforming to the will of the Lord'; again, 'Let all creatures of the Lord of Heaven, from princes down to the common people, abandon depravity and cherish rectitude, and let our holy religion become generally prevalent, then the government must inevitably be peaceful and lasting'; again, 'The Lord of our religion is truly and directly the Lord of heaven, earth, men and things'; again, 'The doctrines of other kingdoms are all worldly, carnal doctrines'; again, 'Holy men wish to take this opportunity to propagate this religion in China.' Again the *Huan-p'ei hsün-yen* says: 'The adherents of other religions are slaves to the devil.' Such words as these are wild and extravagant, strange and unprincipled, open to manifold objections. But some things in them are still more perverse and erroneous; thus it is said: 'To obey a parent's commands, when these are opposed to the commands of God, is very undutiful. There was a holy woman Barbara, who because she would not obey some unrighteous command, was killed by her ignorant father; whereupon God in his righteous anger, struck him dead with a thunderbolt. Let parents, relatives, or friends, who would prevent others serving the Lord, take warning by this.' This is extinguishing the relations of life, and abandoning all principle, and can only be compared to the mad howling of dogs. Again it is said: 'At that time there was a prince (*beise* 貝子), who was given up to a life of unprincipled conduct. Although his consort (*fujin* 夫人) used all her influence to reform him, he would not comply; till one day, a host of devils dragged this prince down to hell. His wife being distinguished for her virtue, God revealed to her the fact that her husband was suffering eternal misery in a lake of fire. Hence it is obvious that those who will not listen to good counsel, inevitably suffer eternal punishment from God.' Such babbling as this is still more injurious to sound principles. But how do the Western foreigners know about *beise* and *fujin*? This arises from their having formerly held intercourse with the bannermen; by which means they got a knowledge of these titles, and have fraudulently transferred them to their books. This is a matter of old standing, but up to the present time, it has not been rigorously investigated. When it is said

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Steiner, 1966), nor in Walter Simon and Howard G.H. Nelson: *Manchu Books in London. A Union Catalogue* (London: The British Library, 1977).

> that a *beise* was dragged down to hell by a host of devils, this is altogether a fabulous statement, without the least shadow of truth. If they can in their crafty devices, invent such baseless fabrications, then there are no words which they are incapable of uttering; there is nothing too bad for them to publish. If severe prohibitions are not issued against such publications in good time, and they are allowed to go disseminating them at pleasure, the books they compose may come to contain perverse errors, of a still more aggravated character than these, when a more stringent correction will be unavoidable. The settlement of a complex case after it has gathered strength, is not so good as the prevention by previous care. Formerly, the great minister Lu-kang, and others were ordered to take charge respectively of matters connected with the institutions of the Western foreigners, to consult together, and draw up reports, keeping them under a constant surveillance. Hence they have drawn attention to the various notable passages in these books; and in allusion to these, I now reiterate this injunction: 'Henceforth let all the bannermen population apply themselves to the cultivation of our national language, horsemanship and archery; let them study the writings of the sages, and comply with the canonical precepts. They are not allowed to believe in Buddhism and Taoism; much less the religion of the Western foreigners. Let them now purify themselves from all past stains, and no longer put confidence in these corrupt discourses. If any will ignorantly persist in holding on this stupid course, turning their neck on first principles, and following depravity, they cannot be ranked as men, and are opposing my earnestly reiterated admonitions. Let this be a warning to all.'[3]

This document gives some insight into the reception of Christian works in Manchu.

A Survey of Christian Texts in Manchu

While a few Christian works have been mentioned already, we still barely have an idea of what is available. Let us try to make a first survey of works extant (see Appendix: Christliche Literatur in mandjurischer Sprache).

We easily recognize some of the most important Christian texts, like Ricci's apologetic classic *T'ien-chu shih-i* and Aleni's *Wan-wu chen-yüan*. Quite a number of texts were actually published, and at least in two cases we even have rather different versions. And there are a few items of an introductory and catechetical character. Most of the publications are only in Manchu and not in bilingual form.

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[3] Quoted after Alexander Wylie: *Translation of the T'sing Wan K'e Mung. A Chinese Grammar of the Mandschu Tartar Language, with Introductory Notes on Mandschu Literature.* Shanghae: London Mission Press, 1855, pp. L, XLIII–XLV.

As we have seen, the Bible was translated rather late into Manchu; it was a development parallel to the translation of the Bible into Chinese where only the pericopes were published, and other parts remained in manuscript. It was the Protestant focus on the Scriptures that finally led to the publication, both in Chinese (Morrison) and in Manchu (Lipovcov). The actual influence of the Manchu Bible was hardly in agreement with the effort of the translation and publication.

There is hardly anything known concerning the translation of Christian texts into Manchu except for the Bible. We do not know the translators' names, and we are also in the dark as to when the work in question was actually translated.

Sometimes the vocabulary shows whether it is an early or later translation. The technique has not been researched except for the basic investigations by Mish and Walravens. In the latter case the Pater noster was used as an example—not in order to follow the traditional line of pre-19th-century scholars to use this prayer for their universal linguistic comparisons but just because it was the text with the largest number of versions. One can probably not expect too much for the time being as the major effort has really been to track down existing texts and make them available.

Christian literature is not limited to Bible translations, catechisms, and similar works. Also other missionary publications contain religious messages. So, for example, the famous *Anatomie mandchoue* of Father Parennin:[4]

> Man is more knowledgeable, enlightened, and excellent than all other things between heaven and earth. The body which is visible and the soul which is invisible enter life together jointly, in one body. The visible heaven is connected with the invisible Lord who created it. Related to the visible heaven is the living body which is based on heavenly substance. Related to the invisible Lord the creator of heaven is the enlightened living soul which is based on the primary cause of divine miraculous knowledge and enlightenment. The nature of the invisible soul follows reason and is, therefore, in comparison to the body extremely delicate and hidden. Thus, after having perceived the visible body and the invisible soul each in its own rights, one may sum up the perception of the human body in one rule: To examine the visible body is easy, to perceive the invisible soul is difficult, and therefore we will discuss the visible body first and the invisible soul afterwards. To get to know all the bases of the visible body and the invisible soul comprehensively, one has to become thoroughly acquainted with the fathomless wonderful virtue of the Lord who created things, one has to practice reason, love, and respect and easily understand the eternal existence of the soul.

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[4] Hartmut Walravens: "Medical knowledge of the Manchus and the Manchu Anatomy," in: *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 27 (1996), pp. 359–374 (cit. p. 370).

Christian literature is also interesting from the lexicographical point of view. Christianity—like Buddhism many centuries earlier—introduced new concepts and ideas into China, for which there were no established Chinese translations at that time.

This situation resulted in new terms and also in the use of existing terms with new meanings. Thus, God was rendered *abkai ejen*, in correspondence to the Chinese *t'ien-chu*. *Alambi* received the religious meaning "to confess." *Enduringge baita-i songko*, "the sign of a holy matter," came to mean sacrament.

In the earlier times the tendency was to use transliterations for technical terms in order to avoid confusion with other meanings, and thus prevent communication from becoming fuzzy and unreliable. So *badere* was used for Father (in the Lord's Prayer), *eglesiya* for church. This practice was given up later because it made prayers and matters of faith almost unintelligible to a large audience. The transliteration of biblical names was unavoidable; so we find *bonksio bilado* as the equivalent of Pontius Pilatus.

Practically all Christian terms entered Manchu through the medium of the Chinese language, and so far there is no evidence for loanwords borrowed directly from Latin or Greek in this context. The Manchu Bible translation, however, has not been researched sufficiently in order to make definitive statements to this effect. In contrast to this, certain Manchu medical terms were coined directly by the missionaries without relying on Chinese versions. The mentioned *Anatomie mandchoue* was translated and compiled directly without an intermediary Chinese text.

This brief survey may have proved that it would be worthwhile to study the extant documents of the Christian religion in the Manchu language in some more detail. For this purpose, it might be useful to prepare new editions of these rare texts. As soon as they became generally available there might be more interest in making scholarly investigations.

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Laufer, Berthold: "Skizze der manjurischen Literatur," in: *Keleti Szemle* 9 (1908), pp. 1–53. Mainly devoted to the development of Manchu literature, this article covers the field chronologically until recent times and is followed by two short sections on translations of European works and the Bible into Manchu. The first part of the article introduces to the history of the script, and to the uses and problems of Manchu studies.

The footnotes contain much bibliographical material and a great number of corrections to Möllendorff's earlier *Essay on Manchu literature*. The Hungarian translation, "A Mandzsu irodalom vázlata,"[5] contains six illustrations not found in the German original. The article was reprinted in Hartmut Walravens (Hrsg.): *Kleine Schriften von Berthold Laufer. Teil 1: Publikationen aus der Zeit von 1895 bis 1910.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976, pp. 1295–1347.

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Western missionaries literate in Manchu or Mongol who traveled in Chinese border regions during early Ch'ing times.

Bible

Kaulen, Franz: *Linguae Mandshuricae Institutiones, quas conscripsit, indicibus ornavit Chrestomathia et Vocabulario* (Ratisbonae 1856).

A brief sketch of the history of the Manchu language and a bibliography of European works on it occupy the first six pages, then follow the grammatical treatment and careful indexes to it on pages 7–94. The chrestomathy, in Manchu script, covers some forty-three pages and is made up of selections from the Bible, Chinese classics, edicts, and memorials. The vocabulary is rather short, filling only eleven pages.

Bible excerpts:
97– 1. Nativitatis Jesu historia (Luc. 2/5aff.)
102– 2. Trium magorum adventus (Matth. 13/2aff.)
106– 3. Nuptiae Canae factae (Joh. 13/3bff.)
109– 4. De summo Jesui pontificio (Ep. ad Hebr. 13/55b)
112– 5. Quantum lingua nocere queat (Jac. 2/4b)
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Musei ejen Isus heristos-i tutabuha ice hese.
103– 1. Le verbe divin (Joh. I,1)
104– 2. Naissance du Christ (Luc. II,1–20)
106– 3. Noces de Cana (Joh. II, Init.—jai fiyelen)
107– 4. L'aveugle né (Uyuci fiyelen. Joh. IX)

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Historical and bibliographic study on the translation of the New Testament into Manchu.

Matsumura, Jun: "Manshūgo yaku no seisho ni tsuite," in: *Tōyō bunko shohō* 7 (1975), pp. 37–53.

On the Manchu version of the Bible. A comparison of the Tōyō Bunko ms. with the one of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the printed edition of 1835.

Catechisms

Mish, John Leo: "A Catholic catechism in Manchu," in: *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958), pp. 361–372.

Latinized text and translation of the Manchu translation of João Soeiro's *Sanctae legis compendium, Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihiyan-i oyonggo gisun.* Mish wrongly attributes the work to Ricci and the translation to Verbiest. See Walter Simon: "The China Illustrata Romanisation of João Soeiro's (Soerio's) *Sanctae Legis Compendium* and its Attribution to Michael Boym," in: Søren Egerod and Else Glahn (eds.): *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata. Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on his Seventieth Birthday October Fifth, 1959* (Copenhagen 1959), pp. 265–270.

Walravens, Hartmut: "Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in mandjurischer Sprache," in: *Monumenta Serica* 31 (1974–1975), pp. 521–549.

Comparison of the versions of several Christian texts in Manchu, e.g. Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Credo, and Decalogue according to *Abkai enduri hôi-i kicen* by Francesco Brancati and *Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hesen-i bithe* and other sources. The differences are discussed and attempt is made to date the sources. There is a glossary of Manchu Christian terms mentioned.

Goldi texts

Walravens, Hartmut (ed.): *Die frühesten goldischen Texte. Faksimile-Nachdruck einiger Übersetzungen von Prokopij Protodiakonov. Mit einem Essay von Władysław Kotwicz über die Erforschung der goldischen (Nanai-) Sprache.* Ch'ing-wen tsung-hui, 5 (Berlin: C. Bell 1992 [1993]).

Facsimile reproduction of four early Nanai texts, translations from the Russian by the missionary Father Prokopij Protodiakonov. They are:
Objasnenie glavnejšich prazdnikov pravoslavnoj cerkvi (1881);
Oglasitel'noe poučenie gotovjaščimsja ko svjatomu kreščeniju jazyčnikam (1889);
Kratkij katichizis slova Iisusa Christa (1885);
Tolkovyj molitvennik s perevodom na gol'dskij jazyk (1884);
These rare texts were published in bilingual (Russian-Nanai) editions and constitute the first attempt to make Nanai a written language. The introduction by Kotwicz was reprinted from *Anthropos* 76 (1981), pp. 826–837.

Appendix:
Christliche Literatur in mandjurischer Sprache

1. Abkai ejen wasinjime banjiha gisun yabun be ejehe bithe.
[Aufzeichnungen über Worte und Taten des herabgestiegenen und menschgewordenen Himmelsherrn]
Ma. Hs. 1 pen (22 Bl.). Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Leont'evskij 26.
Volkova (1), 52.

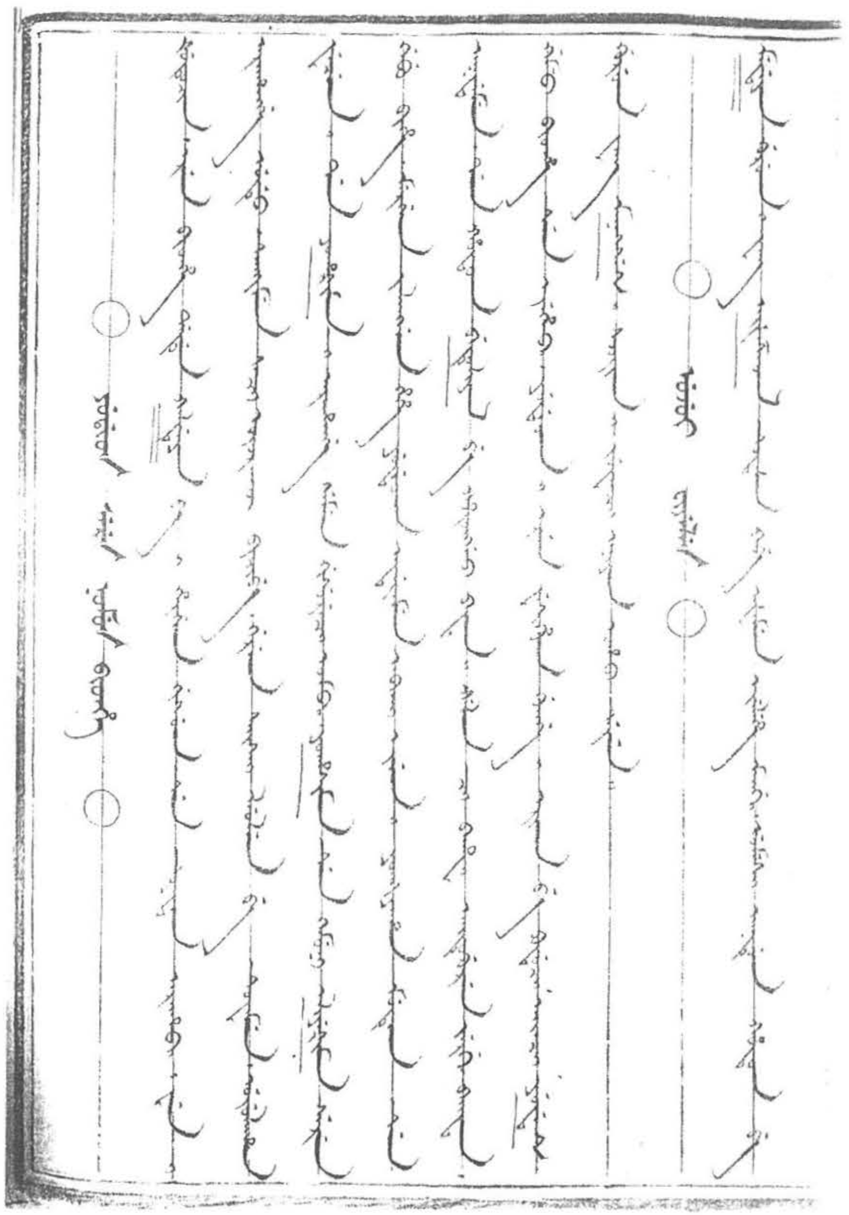
2. Abkai ejen de hing seme bairengge [Inc.]
[Ernsthafte Bitten an den Himmelsherrn]
21 Bl. MS. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 270.

3. Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihiyan.
[Die heilige Lehre des Himmelsherrn]
Ma. Druck. 6 Blatt. Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 68.

4a. Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihiyan oyonggo gisun.
[T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yüeh-yen 天主聖教約言]
[Die wichtigsten Worte der heiligen Lehre des Himmelsherrn]
Verf.: João Soeiro 蘇若望 (1566–1607).
[Sanctae legis compendium]
O.O. u. J. 11 Bl. 7 R/S. Mandjurischer Druck. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 139 = 239. 240. 241. Hss. Aufschrift: Compendium legis christianae linguâ tartarica. Ohne Randtitel.
Dieser katholische Katechismus ist eine Übersetzung des T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yüeh-yen des Jesuiten João Soeiro (Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 257; Dehergne, "Catéchismes et catéchèse," p. 454).
Literatur: Walter Simon, "The China Illustrata Romanisation of João Soeiro's (Soerio's) *Sanctae Legis Compendium* and its Attribution to Michael Boym," in: Søren Egerod and Else Glahn (eds.): *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata. Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on his Seventieth Birthday October Fifth, 1959*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959, pp. 265–270; Walravens, "Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in mandjurischer Sprache."
Der Text ist übersetzt von John L. Mish: "A Catholic Catechism in Manchu" (dort fälschlich F. Verbiest zugeschrieben).
1a [Inc] abkai ejen serengge. uthai abka. na. enduri. niyalma. tumen / jaka be banjibuha amba ejen inu:
11a [Term.] urunakô abkai ejen-i yargiyan jurgan-i hacin hacin / bithe be narhôšame tuwabuha de. teni hafu ulhifi / kenehunjerakô ombi: ere doro be emu gisun-i teile de / wacihiyame muterakô:

4b. Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihiyan-i oyonggo gisun.
[T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yüeh-yen 天主聖教約言]
O.O. u. J. 1 Heft, 6 Bl.
Andere Ausgabe. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 242.
Zum chinesischen Text:
João Soeiro: T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yüeh-yen.
[Transkription und lateinische Übersetzung]
Athanasius Kircher: *China illustrata*. Amstelodami 1667, pp. 121–128 (*Divinae* [*sic*] *Legis compendium*).
Literatur: W. Simon: "The China Illustrata Romanisation of João Soeiro's (Soerio's) *Sanctae Legis Compendium* and its Attribution to Michael Boym," pp. 265–270.

5. Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hešen-i bithe.
[Das Wichtigste der Lehre Gottes]
Ma: Druck [nach 1750]. 1 Bd. 2 H. Ma. 26,5 x 16; 19 x 14.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Leont'evskij 23; Sammlung Brosset XIV, 16.



Judit sere nomun bithe.
Beginn des Buches Judith. Übersetzung ins Mandjurische von L. de Poirot. Abschrift von Petr Kamenskij. Institut Vostokovedenija RAN. St. Petersburg.

Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg : Md 12; Xyl 68; L.75(?); V.19.
Volkova (1), 55; Kanda, p. 80; Volkova (2), 202 (nennt Aleni als Verfasser!); Kowalewski, n. 118. Fuchs, *Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke.*
Am Anfang von H. 1 steht ein Vorwort. Nach Jachontov ein Werk des Jesuiten Francesco Furtado (1587–1653; vgl. Pfister, p. 151–153).
Exemplar der Indian Office Library: [Titelschild:] Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hešen-i bithe. O.O. u. J. 118, 101 Bl., 7 R/S.
Mandjurischer Druck. Ohne Randtitel. Hss. Vermerk: Purchased of the family of the late W[illiam] Huttmann 27th Jan^{y} 1845.
Dieses Exemplar enthält kein Vorwort; insofern sind hier Autor und mutmaßliches chinesisches Original dieses katholischen Katechismus zunächst unsicher. Literatur zu diesem Exemplar: Simon II.82; Summers, n. 158; Kanda, p. 80; Walravens: "Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in mandjurischer Sprache."

1a [Inc:] Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hešen-i bithei šošohon: /
uju de. / enduringge tacihiyan-i oyonggo doro-i ninggun hacin be / giyangnahangge: /
jai de. / abkai ejen-i enduringge banin gônin be giyangnahangge: /
1b ilaci de. / niyalmai sure fayangga. yali beye be giyangnahangge: /
duici de. / tumen irgen-i duin hacin-i duben: /
sunjaci de. / beyei endebuku be aliyara nomun: /
ningguci de. / enduringge temgetu-i nomun be giyangnahangge: /
2a nadaci de. / abkai ejen-i nomun be giyangnahangge: /
jakôci de. / enduringge eme-i nomun be giyangnahangge: /
uyuci de. / akdaci acara nomun be giyangnahangge: /
2b juwanci de. / abkai ejen-i juwan targacun be giyangnahangge: /
juwan emuci de. / enduringge tacihiyan-i duin kooli be giyangnahangge: /
juwan juweci de. / enduringge baita-i nadan songko be giyangnahangge: /
juwan ilaci de. / unenggi hôturi-i jakôn hacin be giyangnahangge: /
3a Enduringge tacihiyan-i oyonggo doroi ninggun hacin.

Heft II:
la [Kopftitel:] Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hešen-i bithe.
jai debtelin:
101b [Term.] yargiyan hôturi inu: tuttu ofi. terebe unenggi / hôturi sembi: neneme giyangnaha jakôn hacin. uthai ere / unenggi hôturi de isinara jugôn inu:

6. Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i ice bithe.
Ma. Hs. 1 *pen.* Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Leont'evskij 24.

7. Abkai ejen-i tob tacihiyan-i temgetu-i šošohon.
[T'ien-chu cheng-chiao yüeh-cheng 天主正教約徵
Verf.: Luigi Buglio 利類思 (1606–1682).
O.O. u. J. 1 Heft, 9 Bl., 9 R/S. Ma. Druck. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 150 = 250. 251. Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,69; Banz. VIII,6.
[Titelschild:] Abkai ejen-i tob tacihiyan-i temhetu-i šošohon.
[T'ien-chu cheng-chiao yüeh-cheng 天主正教約徵]
[Kopftitel:] Abkai ejen-i tob tacihiyan-i temgetu-i šošohon:
[Randtitel:] Abkai ejen-i tob tacihiyan yüeh-cheng 約徵
Verfasser dieses kurzen Katechismus ist Luigi Buglio (Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 39; Dehergne, "Catéchismes et catéchèse," pp. 418–421).
Literatur: Cordier, p. 8 (VII. 50–1); Pfister, p. 241 (1669 wurde die chinesische Ausgabe dem Kaiser K'ang-hsi vorgelegt).
[Inc.] niyalma tuttui jakai duwali ci lakcafi acungge. tere sure banin-i dorgi de. /

8a. Abkai ejen-i unenggi jurgan-i bithe.
[T'ien-chu shih-i 天主實義]
[Vera doctrina de deo]
Ma. Druck. 2 *pen.*

Verf.: Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1552–1610).
FM 234.235.236.237.238. Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 36; Xyl 1034; Ln. 70. 2 H. 26,5 x 16; 22 x 15.
Es fehlt die erste Einführung, statt dessen erscheint ein Vorwort von Li Chih-tsao 李之藻 (vgl. Pfister, p. 34), datiert X. Wan-li, Jahr des Rötlichen Schafs (1607). Im übrigen unterscheidet sich diese Ausgabe nicht von 8c, bis auf unbedeutende Abweichungen im Text. Hier liegt folglich eine andere (wenn man nach dem Datum des Vorworts urteilt, ältere) Holzdruckausgabe vor. Der Text umfaßt 2 debtelin.
Inhalt:
Vorwort (sioi) von Li Chih-tsao 李之藻.
Vorwort (sioi) von Feng Ying-ching 瑪應景. 1601.
yarugan. 1603.
Text in 2 Kap.

8b. Tiyan ju-i yargiyan jurgan.
[= Abkai ejen-i unenggi jurgan]
Ma. Ms. 2 *pen.* Asiatisches Museum, As. Dept. 978.
Volkova (l), 51.

8c. Abkai ejen-i unenggi jurgan.
[天主實義]
Verf.: Matteo Ricci.
O.O. 1758. Ma. Druck. 4 H. ohne *t'ao.* 27 x 19; 21 x 17. Andere Ausgabe als 8a.
Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 35; Xyl 1017; Ld 49.
Vorwort: Bithei ubaliyambure kooli be muwasame leolehengge. Vorwort von Li Chih-tsao und Feng Ying-ching.
yarugan. fiyelen-i ton (4 *pen*, 8 *friyelen*).
Am Anfang von H. 1 befindet sich eine III. Abkai wehiyehe 23 (1758) datierte Einführung, darauf folgt ein "am Tag des Getreideregens" (*jeku aga*), III. Wan-li 29 (1601) datiertes Vorwort. Verfasser des Vorworts ist Feng Ying-ching. Über ihn vgl. Pfister, p. 34. Es schließt sich eine Einführung des Verfassers des Buches Li Madeo (Matteo Ricci; vgl. Pfister, pp. 22–42; Dehergne, "Catéchismes et catéchèse," pp. 445–447) an. Das Vorwort ist datiert 15.VII. Wan-li 31(1603). Der Text ist in 4 debtelin eingeteilt.
Literatur: Cordier, p. 39 (LI, 225–1); Volkova (1), 51; Kanda, p. 85; Stary, n. 66; Puyraimond, n. 234–238; Kowalewski, n. 119.
Zum chinesischen Text:

1. Ausgabe: Peking 1603. 200 Exemplare.
2. Ausgabe: Canton 1605, auf Veranlassung von Valignano.
3. Ausgabe: Hang-chou 1607. Unterstützt durch Wang Meng-p'u. Vorwort von Li Chih-tsao.

Übersetzung des Vorworts: *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, comp. by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, pp. 626–629; Pasquale M. d'Elia: "Prima introduzione della filosofia scolastica in Cina (1584, 1603)," in: *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 28 (1956), pp. 141–196: Übersetzung der Vorworte von Feng Ying-ching (1601), Li Chih-tsao (1607), Ku Feng-hsiang (1609), Riccis Einführung (1603) und des Epilogs von Wang Ju-shun (1607).

- Undatierter Nachdruck von neuen Platten. Yen-i-t'ang. Die Ausgabe wurde ins *T'ien-hsüeh ch'u-han* aufgenommen.
- Undatierte Ausgabe. Ch'in-i-ko, Fukien.
- Undatierte Ausgabe. T'ou-sè-wè, Shanghai 1868.
- Hsien-hsien, Hopei. 1898.
- T'ou-sè-wè, Shanghai 1904, 1930, 1935 (Metallettern).
- Hsien-hsien 1933.
- Yen-chou, Shantung 1938.
- Hong Kong: Nazareth Retreat House 1939.

Matteo Ricci S.J.: *The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*T'ien-chu Shih-i*). Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen S.J. A Chinese-English Edition edited by Edward J. Malatesta S.J. St. Louis—Taipei: The Institute of Jesuit Sources 1985.

"Entretiens d'un lettré chinois et d'un docteur européen, sur la vraie idée de Dieu." *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangeres.* Nouv. édition. Mémoires des Indes et de la Chine. Toulouse 1811, pp. 143–185. Ausgabe Lyon 14 (1819), pp. 66–247.

Missionerskie dialogi M. Riči s kitajskim učenym o christianstve i jazyčestvem i obzor kitajsko-cerkovnoj, rimsko-katoličeskoj literatury s XVI po XVIII st. Ierom. Aleksija Vinogradova. St. Petersburg 1889.

9. Abkai enduri hôi-i kicen-i yarugan.
[T'ien-shen-hui k'o 天神會課]
Verf.: Francesco Brancati 潘國光 (1607–1671).
Ms. [vor ca. 1750] 1 Bd. (201 Bl.)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 249. Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 232; Xyl 2246:
Abka-i enduri-i acafi tacibure hacin-i bithe. "Offizien der Schutzengelgesellschaft." Handschrift. Papier mit rotem Holzdruckrahmen. 70 Bl., davon am Anfang und Ende des Heftes 3 Bl. leer. 8 R/S. 1 H. ohne *t'ao.* 23 x 16; 19 x 14. Auf dem Umschlag blauer Stempel: "Geschenk von Nikolaj Andreevič Popov. 10.X.1912."
Literatur: Kanda, p. 85; Puyraimond, n. 249: ma. Titel: Abkai enduri hôi-i yarugan. (Beschreibung des Petersburger Exemplars von Konstantin Jachontov)
Inhalt:
5 Enduringge tacihiyan-i oyonggo giyan ninggun hacin:
13 Abkai ejen-i enduringge banin be fonjiha jabuha ba:
25 sure fayangga. yalingga beye be fonjiha jabuha ba:
35 enduringge temgetu-i ging:
57 abkai ejen-i ging:
89 enduringge eme-i ging:
107 akdara ging:
213 abkai ejen-i juwan targacun:
295 enduringge tacihiyan hôi-i toktobuha kooli be suhengge:
353 enduringge baitai nadan songko be suhengge:
387 unenggi hôturi jakôn hacin
Literatur: Walravens, "Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in mandjurischer Sprache"; *id.*, "Zur Publikationstätigkeit der Russischen Geistlichen Mission in Peking," in: *Monumenta Serica* 34 (1979–1980), pp. 525–557. Fang Hao; Pfister, p. 229, Nr. 6.
Zum chinesischen Text: Giuliano Bertuccioli: "Brancati, Francesco," in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 13 (1971), pp. 822–824.
Ausgaben:
1. Shanghai 1661. Nach Pfister, p. 229, Nr. 6.
2. *Ku Yen sheng Jo-se-t'ang ch'ung-k'o*, o. J., 1 *pen*. Autorisierungen: Philippe Couplet, Feliciano Pacheco, Jacques Le Faure (Le Favre) und François de Rougemont.
3. *Che-chiang Hu-chou-t'ang ch'ung-tzu* (1661–1731). 1 *pen*
4. *Huang-ch'eng Hsi-an-men-nei Shou-shan-t'ang ts'ang-pan* 1739.
5. Iakinfs Ausgabe: Ohne Titelblatt. *T'ien-shen-hui k'o. Ta-shen-fu I-a-ch'in-t'e ching-k'o* 大神父已阿欽特敬刻. O. O. [1823]. 28 Bl.
Kleiner Katechismus, verfaßt vom Archimandriten Iakinf (N. Ja. Bičurin, 1777–1853, Leiter der IX. Geistlichen Mission in Peking, 1807–1821) auf der Grundlage eines großen Katechismus des Missionars Francesco Brancati (vgl. Pfister, pp. 223–230; Dehergne, „Catéchismes et catéchèse," pp. 417–418).
6. 1861. 80 Bl.i. Vgl. *Catalogus librorum venalium in Orphanotrophio Tou-sai-wai.* Zikawei: Ex typographia Missionis catholicae, 1889, Nr. 90.

7. 1882. Nachdruck von 6. Vgl. Pfister, p. 229, Nr. 6.
8. 1914. Nachdruck von 6. Vgl. Pfister, p. 229, Nr. 6.
T'ien-shen-hui k'o
Huang-ch'eng Hsi-an-men-nei Shou-shan-t'ang ts'ang-pan 皇城西安門内首善堂藏板
T'ien-chu chiang-sheng i-ch'ien ch'i-pai san-shih-chiu nien ch'ung-k'o 天壬降左一千七百三十九年茧刻
T'ai-hsi Ye-su-hui-shih P'an Kuo-kuang chu-shu 泰西耶穌會士潘國光著述
T'ung-hui Pai Ying-li 同會柏應理 (Ph. Couplet, Pfister, pp. 307–313), Liu Ti-wo 劉迪我 (Jac. Le Favre, Pfister, pp. 287–293), Lu Jih-man 魯日滿 (F. de Rougemont, Pfister, pp. 333–337) chiao-yüeh 校閱
Chih-hui Ch'eng Chi-li 値會成際理 (F. Pacheco, Pfister, pp. 277–279) [...]
O. O. u. J., 2,1,87 Bl.
Übersetzung: Aleksej Leont'ev: *Tjańšiń-ko, t.e. angel'skaja beseda.* Perevel s kitajskago na rossijskoj jazyk Nadvornoj Sovětnik Aleksěj Leontiev. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija nauk, 1781.
Kritik an Karl Friedrich Neumanns Beschreibung des Werkes: Heinrich Kurz: *Über einige der neusten Leistungen in der chinesischen Litteratur.* Paris: Königl. Druckerei, 1830.
Julius Klaproth: [Rez.] „Heinrich Kurz: "Über einige derneusten Leistungen in der chinesischen Litteratur," in: *Nouveau Journal asiatique* 7 (1831), pp. 373–397.
Julius Klaproth: "Note sur l'Abrégé du catéchisme chinois intitulé 課會神天 Thian chin hoei kho, publié à Peking par l'Archimandrite russe Hyacinthe Bitchourin," in: *Nouveau Journal asiatique* 8 (1831), pp. 66–77.

10. Chiao-yao hsü-lun 教要序論
[Einführender Essay zum Wichtigsten der (christlichen) Lehre]
O. O. 1677. Druck. 1 *pen* (75 Bl.)
Verf.: Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 (1623–1688).
Möllendorff, n. 136. Bislang kein Exemplar nachgewiesen.

11. Enduringge beyei oyonggo giyan.
[Sheng-t'i yao-li 聖體要理]
[Die wichtigsten Prinzipien der heiligen Eucharistie]
[Tractatus de sancta eucharistia]
Verf.: Giulio Aleni 艾儒略 (1582–1649).
O. O. u. J. 2 ch. = 85 Bl., 7 R/S. Mandjurisches Manuskript.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 248.1
Bl. 86–118: Enduringge beye be kenehunjehengge de jabuha bithe.
Dem mandjurischen Titel der ersten Abhandlung über die heilige Eucharistie entspricht der chinesische Titel *Sheng-t'i yao-li* 聖體要理. Zu diesem Werk von Giulio Aleni: *Tractatus de sancta eucharistia*, vgl. Pfister, p. 134, Nr. 15: Fu-chou 1644; Dehergne, "Catéchismes et catéchèse," p. 412.
1a dergi debtelin fiyelen-i ton-i: [!] /
enduringge beye be ai sembi: /
enduringge beye be alibuha jurgan: /
enduringge beye tulfame colhorokongge: /
enduringge beye-i kesi tusa: /
julergi ging bithe-i enduringge beye be doihomšome murušahangge: /
1b enduringge beye-i ferguwecun-i songko: /
fejergi debtelin-i šošohon-i ilhi: /
enduringge beye be alire erin: /
enduringge beye be alire onggolo-i kicen: /
goro golmin-i belhere ilan hacin-i erdemu: /
ne hanci belhere. mujilen de tebuhei gônirengge: /
hing seme belhere enduri kicen: /

2a alire dorolon kooli: /
aliha amala hacin-i doro: /
enduringge beye be alire onggolo. aliha amala-i ging: /
3a yarugan
86 Enduringge beye be kenehunjerengge de jabuha bithei fiyelen-i ton:
niyalmai gisurehe giyan be akdara dabala yasai sabure arbun be akdarakô:
enduringge beye serengge gungnere ginggulere ten obureo be akdara:
abkai ejen-i tacihiyan. umai niyalmai ilibuha tacihiyan waka be suhengge:
jaka-i banin beye. umai sunja baitangga-i ulhire seme muterengge waka:
yaya-i saburengge be akdarakô sehengge be milarakangge:
Enduringge beye be šangnabume muterengge. damu abkai ejen mutembi:
jaka giyan be ulhirengge mangga turgunde uthai akô seme temgetu obuci ojorakô:
enduringge beye-i ufa-i arbun de bisirengge. uthai fayangga-i niyalmai beye de bisirengge adali:
niyalmai mujilen ci tucire gônin be sure fayangga-i duibulere arbun obuhabi:
šan-i donjire. yasai sabure giyan be jafafi. enduringge beyebe akdarangge mangga sehengge be milarakangge: gôwa tacihiyan-i temgetulere giyan akôngge be akdara enduringge beyebe akdarangge mangga sehengge be milarakangge:
enduringge beye serengge niyalmai enduri jeku ojoro be:
enduringge beye-i ufa-i arbun de sumihangge niyalma alire de ja okini sere turgun:
enduringge beye enduri jeku-i weme. singgerengge. arbun bisire jeku-i weme singgere be jafafi duibuleci ojorakô.
enduringge beyebe alirengge. gingguleme wesihulere jurgan ele iletulere be:
wecere juktere da gônin:
enduringge be dorolon serengge. wecen-i ten wesihun-i dorolon:
enduringge beye Yesu-i jobolon be aliha arbun:
geren geren-i inenggidari enduringge beye be alirengge:
abkai ejen-i mohon akô ten wesihun ele iletulebumbi:
enduringge beye be alirengge. niyalmai hacingga sain be yabure rulehe ombi:
118a mujilen hôsun be akômburengge. geli beyebe dasara sain be / yabure amba fulehe ojoro be dahame. yaya beyengge be / memerefi. ere doro giyan be balai ilgame gisurerengge be / baitai be fudarame jurceme. uru be waka be waka be uru / oburengge seci ombi: /

12. Enduringge beye be kenehunjehengge de jabuha bithe.
[Sheng-t'i ta-i 聖體答疑]
[Antwort auf Zweifel bezüglich der heiligen Eucharistie]
[De sancto corpore (seu de eucharistia) responsa ad dubia libellus]
Verf.: Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 (1623–1688).
MS. Bl. 86–118. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 248.2.
Vgl. Pfister, p. 353, Nr 3; Dehergne, "Catéchismes et catéchèse," pp. 460.

13. Altes Testament

13a. Enduringge nomun.
19 *pen.* Ma. Hs.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,1
Übersetzung des Alten Testaments durch Petr Kamenskij.1826.
Banz. VIII, 1 nennt Lipovcov als Übersetzer.
Eine inzwischen erfolgte Einsicht in das Exemplar des Asiatischen Museums (heute: Institut Vostokovedenija RAN, St. Petersburg) hat ergeben, daß laut Beischrift Archimandrit Petr Kamenskij das Manuskript des Jesuiten Louis de Poirot abgeschrieben hat. Hinweise auf eine Überarbeitung finden sich nicht.

13b. Yudas gurun-i wang sai nonggingge šošohon-i nomun bithe.
Ma.-chin. Ms. 1 *pen* (105 Bl.)
Paralipomenon I,2, §§ 13–29.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 1a.
Volkova (1), 48
13c. [Apostelgeschichte]
Ma. Ms. 1 *pen.*
Rumjancev-Museum, Skačkov 1380.
13d. Śabisai yabun-i nomun bithe.
[Apostelgeschichte]
Ma. Ms. 1 *pen* (91 Bl.).
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 1.
13e. [Bibel]
Ms. 4 *t'ao* á 5 fasc.
1. Enduringge Mateo-i ewanželio-i ujui debtelin
2. Enduringge Mateo-i ewanželio-i jaici debtelin
3. Šabisai yabun-i nomun-i bithe
4. Leweitasai nomun
5. Ton-i nomun
6. Jaici selgiyen
7. Yosuwe-i nomun
8. Beidesi-nomun. Rut-i nomun be kamcihabi
9. Wang sai nomun-i ujui debtelin
10. Wang sai nomun-i jaici debtelin
11. Wang sai nomun-i ilaci debtelin
12. Wang sai nomun-i duici debtelin
13. Yudas gurun wang sai nonggingge šošohon bithei ujui debtelin
14. Wang sai nonggingge šošohon-i jai debtelin
15. Estaras-i nomun-i ujui debtelin. jai debtelin
16. Tobiyas-i nomun bithe. Yudit-i nomun bithe. Ester-i nomun bithe
17. Yob sere nomun bithe
18. Daniyel-i nomun bithe. Yonas-i nomun bithe
19. Makabei sere nomun bithei ujui debtelin
20. Makabei sere nomun bithei jaici debtelin

Nicholas Poppe [u.a.]: *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Tōyō Bunko.*
13f. [Altes Testament in der Sammlung der British and Foreign Bible Society]
14a. Geren holo be milarabuha bithe.
[P'i-shih shih chu wang 闢釋氏諸妄]
Verf.: Hsü Kuang-ch'i 徐光啓.
O. O. u. J. 25 Bl. 9 R/S Mandjurischer Druck. 26 x 16; 22 x 14,5.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 262. 263. 264.
Asiatisches Museum. Sammlung Brosset XIV,69.
Stary, n. 24: Hôwaša-i geren holo be milarabuha bithe.
Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 19; Xyl 80; V.31.
Das Werk hat denselben Aufbau wie das unten beschriebene und einen entsprechenden Inhalt.
Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um verschiedene Ausgaben desselben Werkes.
Literatur: Kanda, p. 85; Puyraimond, n. 262–264; Kowalewski, n. 121.
Verfasser dieser christlichen Streitschrift gegen die Buddhisten ist der bekannte Gelehrte Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562–1633), ein Freund Riccis und der Jesuiten (vgl. Hummel, pp. 316–319). Der chinesische Text des Werkes *P'i-wang* 闢妄 oder *P'i shih-shih chu-wang* 闢釋氏諸妄 findet sich leicht zugänglich in *T'ien-chu-chiao tung-ch'uan wen-hsien hsü-pien.* Taipei 1966, vol. I, p. 617. Vgl. auch Fang Hao, 25.

Titelschild und Randtitel geben den Titel abweichend als Geren holo be milarambure bithe.
1a Geren holo be milarabuha fiyelen-i ton.
emu hacin. na-i loo be efulere holo:
emu hacin. jeku salara holo:
emu hacin. ejen akô emhun fayangga. senggi omo-i holo:
emu hacin. hoošan deijire holo:
emu hacin. tarni hôlara holo:
emu hacin. forgošome banjinjire holo:
emu hacin. fucihi hôlara holo:
emu hacin. can zung [禪宗]-ni holo:
2a U sung-ni bai Sioi guwang ki araha:
hôwaša niyalmai fayangga aibide bederere be sarkô bime. fukjin na-i loo be efulere. jeku salara. hoošan deijire jergi gisun banjibufi. mentuhun dungki urse be hossorongge kukduri holo albatu. micihiyan. ci gurun-i dergi bigan-i niyalmai adali. umai dabufi ilgara ba akô: tuttu seme, tacin kooli goidara jakade. mergen urse inu gocimbumbi: uttu ofi taka emu juwe jurgan be tukiyeceme tucibufi. fudasihôn eyen be kame ilibumbi. ede giyang bira marime hamire:
14b. Huwašan-i holo gisun-i milarabuha bithe.
Ma. Druck. 1 *pen*, 73 Bl.
Verf.: Hsü Kuang-ch'i.
Asiatisches Museum, As. Dept. 959
Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 20; Xyl 81; V. 32:
Hôwašan-i holo be milarabuha bithe.
[P'i shih-shih chu-wang 闢釋氏諸妄]
[Widerlegung des Irrtums buddhistischer Mönche]
Holzdruck. Ma. 1 H. in *t'ao*. 27 x 16; 20,5 x 14.
Zum Verfasser, Hsü Kuang-ch'i aus Sung-chiang-fu (1562–1633), vgl. Pfister, p. 1088 u.a.
Der Text umfaßt 8 Abschnitte. Eine Kritik der Lehre der Buddhisten, verfaßt von dem chinesischen Christen Hsü Kuang-ch'i, einem Mitarbeiter Matteo Riccis.
Literatur: Volkova (1), 44; Banzarov, VIII-7,8; Stary, n. 24, 37, 70; Kowalewski, n. 123; Wylie, p. 174
emu hacin. uthai na-i gidana be efulembi sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai jeku salambi sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai ejen akô emhun fayangga sehe. jai senggi-i omo sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai hoošan deijimbi sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai tarni hôlambi sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai forgošome banjinjimbi sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai fucihi hôlakini sehe holo inu:
emu hacin. uthai can zung [禪宗] sehe holo inu:
Vorwort:
Hôwašan-i holo gisun be milarabuha bithe.
Giyangnan goloi Sung giyang fu-i niyalma Sioi guwang ki-i araha:
hôwašan oci. bucehe niyalmai sure fayangga absi genere be sarkô ojoro jakade. na-i gindana be efulere. jeku salara. hoos]an deijire jergi holo gisun be banjibufi. mentuhun albatu urse be hôlimbumbi: tenteke oron akô oyomburakô holo gisun. uthai ci gurun-i dergi ergi bigan-i niyalma gisun-i adali be dahame. tereke ai dabure babi: tuttu seme niyalma ere encu demun de hôlimbufi. hôwašan-i holo tacin de dosifi goidaha turgunde. mergese tuwame tebcirakô. urunakô juwe ilan jurgangga gisun tucibufi. hôwašan-i holo gisun be milarabufi. hôlimbuha niyalma be ulhiburengge. uthai ula birai bilteke muke be dalire adali. eyen be ijishôn-i ici eyebure gônin inu: ede bi hôwašan-i udu hacin-i holo be tucibufi milarabuki:
14c. Hôwašan-i holo gisun-i milarabuha bithe.
Ma-chin. Ms. 1 *pen* (91 Bl.).
Asiatisches Museum, Ivanovskij 103.
Volkova (1), 41.

15. Jalan be weihukelere aisin-i bithe.
[Ch'ing-shih ch'üan-shu 輕世全書
Chin.-ma. Ms. 7 *pen*.
Verf. Emanuel Diaz jr. 陽瑪諾演識西 (1574–1659).
Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Plg 10; Xyl 105.
1. chin. Ausgabe 1640, vervollständigte Ausgabe 1757 (1800, 1815, 1848 etc.).
[Goldenes Buch über die Geringschätzung der Welt]
Papier mit rotem Rahmen, der die oberen zwei Drittel des Blattes umfaßt, die liniert sind, während das untere Drittel ohne Linien ist. 7 H. ohne *t'ao*. H.1: 66 Bl.; 2: 76; 3: 79; 4: 102; 5: 100; 6: 100; 7: 99; 5 chin. u. 5 ma. R/S. 28 x 21; 21 x 17. *Ma-hsien*-Bindung. Aufschrift auf dem Umschlag von H. 2: "Kniga prodažanija Christu, na mandžurskom i kitajskom jazykach dragocennyj podarok ego vysokoblagorodija gospodina Lekarja Iosifa Pavloviča Vojcechovskago—ljubeznejšago kuma" [Buch der Nachahmung Christi, in mandjurischer und chinesischer Sprache. Kostbares Geschenk seiner Hochwohlgeboren, Herrn Dr. Iosif Pavlovič Vojcechovskij—meines liebenswürdigsten Gevatters]. Ma.-chin. 28 x 21; 21 x 17.
Das Werk besteht aus 4 debtelin [Beschreibung nach Jachontov].
Vgl. Pfister, pp. 106–111; Cordier, p. 23 (XVII, 106–9).
Vgl. Nr. 25: Yesu be alhôdara bithe.

16. Neues Testament

16a. Musei ejen Isus heristos-i tutabuha ice hese.
[Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus]
Ma. Ms. 8 H. Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,42.
16b. Musei ejen Isus heristos-i tutabuha ice hese.
Ujui debtelin. Enduringge ewanggelium Mattai-i ulaha songkoi.
[1. Heft. Das heilige Evangelium nach Matthäus]
Ma. Druck. 1835. Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,4.
16c. Musei ejen Isus heristos-i tutabuha ice hese.
Ujui debtelin. Enduringge ewanggelium Mattai-i ulaha songkoi.
Ma.-chin. Druck. 1 H., 70 Bl. Rumjancev-Museum, Skačkov 1380.
16d. Enduringge šabi Matai-i araha ewangelio.
[Vom heiligen Jünger Matthäus verfaßtes Evangelium]
Ma. Ms. 1 *pen*. Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 1.
Übersetzt durch P. Kamenskij.
16e. Shanghai: BFBS 1927. [Nachdruck] ma.
17. Sain be uhelere leolen.
[T'ung-shan shuo 同善說]
[De bono communi]
O. O. u. J. 8 Bl. 9 R/S. Mandjurischer Druck.
Verf.: Li Tsu-po 李組白.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 265. 266. 267.
Der Verfasser dieser christlichen Abhandlung dürfte der chinesische Christ Li Tsu-po 李組白(†1662?) sein (nach Henri Bernard, "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens," S. 365, Nr. 384). Der Randtitel lautet abweichend: Sain be uhei obure leolen. T'ung-shan [shuo] 同善說.
Inc.: Abka na de ejen bisirengge. uthai gurun boo de ejen bisirengge adali. terei gurun de isinafi. /
18a. Sheng-shih ch'u-jao 盛世芻蕘.
Ma. Ms. 1 *pen*, 33 Bl.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Leont'evskij 27.
18b. Śeng śi cu nao.
[Sheng-shih ch'u-jao 盛世芻蕘]
[Tractatus varii de deo et creatione...]
Verf.: Joseph François Marie Anne de Moyriac de Mailla (1669–1748).

MS. 1 Heft (314 Bl.). Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 252.
Pfister, p. 600 (Nr. 3). Die chin. Originalausgabe erschien Peking 1733 (1796, 1818).
19a. Śeng niyan guwang i.
[Sheng-nien kuang-i 聖年廣益]
Verf.: Joseph François Marie Anne de Moyriac de Mailla.
MS. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 253.
Pfister, p. 600 (Nr. 4). Laut Pfister wurde die mandjurische Version 1805 vom Kaiser verboten.

19b. Sheng-nien kuang-i 聖年廣益.
[Annus sacer seu vitae sanctorum totius anni]
Verf.: Joseph François Marie Anne de Moyriac de Mailla.
Ma. Druck. 12 *pen.* 1738; 2. Ausgabe 1815

20. Sing li jen ciyan bithei hešen.
[Hsing-li chen-ch'üan (ta-kang) 性理眞詮大綱]
[Philosophiae naturalis vera explicatio]
Verf.: Alexandre de la Charme 孫璋 (1695–1767).
O. O. u. J. 3 ch. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 254.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,30 u.a. Rumjancev-Museum, Skačkov 1393.
Das chinesische Originalwerk erschien 1753, die Kurzfassung (nach Pfister 提綱 *t'i-kang*) ebenfalls 1753; Pfister, p.722 (Nr. 1). Vgl. die auszugsweise Übersetzung von Hans Conon von der Gabelentz in: *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3 (1840), pp. 250–279.

21. Tainstva christianskie na dvuch jazykach.
[Christliche Geheimnisse in zwei Sprachen]
Ms. 12 Bl.
Volkova (1), 54.

22. T'ien-chu chiao-yao 天主教要.
Chin.-ma. Ms. 1 *pen.* 9 Bl.
Verf.: Francisco Furtado 傅泛際 (1587–1653).
Veröffentlicht ohne Namensnennung.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV,70; Volkova (1), 49.
Pfister, S.153 (Nr. 6). Vgl. Nr. 5: Abkai ejen-i tacihiyan-i hešen-i bithe.

23a. Tumen jaka-i unenggi sekiyen.
[Wan-wu chen-yüan 萬物眞原]
[Rerum omnium vera origo]
Verf.: Giulio Aleni.
O. O. u. J. 4,39 Bl. 9 R/S. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 244–246.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 19; 20.
Übersetzung des *Wan-wu chen-yüan* 萬物眞原 ins Mandjurische. Die bekannten chinesischen Ausgaben des *Wahren Ursprungs aller Dinge* sind die folgenden: 1628, 1694, 1792, 1889.
Das Werk ist auch ins Koreanische und Mongolische übersetzt worden; vgl. J.L. Van Hecken: "Une version mongole du *Wan-ou-tchen-yuen* du P.J. Aleni," in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 22 (1966), pp. 98–108. Vgl. auch Cordier, p. 3 (I, 13–13).
1–4 Vorwort, gez.: Umesi wargi ba-i amala taciha Ai źu liyo [Giulio Aleni] araha.
1a Tumen jaka-i unenggi sekiyen-i bithei šošohon:
2a jaka de gemu derebun bisire be leolehe. ujui fiyelen.
6a niyalma. jaka. ini cisui banjime muterakô be leolehe. jai fiyelen:
11a abka na. ini cisui niyalma. jaka be banjibume muterakô be leolehe. ilaci fiyelen:
14b da sukdun ini cisui faksalafi: abka na oome muterakô be leolehe. duici fiyelen:
17b giyan. jaka be banjibume muterakô be leolehe. sunjaci fiyelen:
21a yaya baita de. giyan be dahaci acara. yasai sabure be songkoloci ojorakô be leolehe. ningguci fiyelen:

23b abka na. tumen jaka de saliha amba ejen bifi banjiha be leolehe. nadaci fiyelen:
25b abka na. tumen jaka be salifi kadalaha ejen-i uherileme dasara be leolehe. jakôci fiyelen:
28a eiten jaka be banjibuha ejen be buhiyeme gisurerere de wajirengge waka be leolehe. uyuci fiyelen:
30b abkai ejen-i abka na be šanggabume mutehe be leolehe. juwanci fiyelen:
35b abkai ejen serengge. tumen hacin-i sekiyen akô-i sekiyen inu sehe be leolehe. juwan emuci fiyelen:
39b si elemangga emu karulara gônin be yendeburakô. tumen ubui kesi de. emu ubu / karulara be gônirakôngge [?] ere ombio: tebcimbio gôni gôni:

23b. Tumen jaka-i unenggi sekiyen-i bithe.
[Wan-wu chen-yüan 萬物眞原]
Verf.: Giulio Aleni.
1 Heft (54 Bl.). Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 247.

23c. Tumen jaka-i unenggi sekiyen-i bithe.
O. O. 1758. Ma. Druck. 1 *pen.* 27,5 x 18; 21 x 17.
Asiatisches Museum, As. Dept. 438 u.a.
Universitätsbibliothek St. Petersburg: Md 18; Xyl 77; V.28.
Am Anfang befindet sich eine vom Autor des Buches, Ai Ju-lüeh (Giulio Aleni, vgl. Pfister, p. 132), verfaßte Einführung. Dann folgt ein III. Abkai wehiyehe 23 (1758) datiertes Vorwort.
Literatur: Banzarov, VIII-6; Kanda, p. 85; Stary, n. 72; Puyraimond, n. 245–247; Klaproth, p. 55; Kowalewski, n. 124.
Zum chinesischen Text:
Ausgaben: 1. Peking: Shou-shan-t'ang 1628; 2.1694; 3.1791; 4. T'ou-sè-wè 1906, 1924.
J.L. Van Hecken: "Une version mongole du *Wan-ou-tchen-yuen* du P.J. Aleni," in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 22 (1966), pp. 98–108.
Manchu translation: K'ang-hsi-period, by Li Yu.
Hubert Otto [Übers.]: "Premier traité du Tao Yuan tsing Ts'oei: *Wan ou tchenn yuan:* véritable origine des créatures," in: *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis in Sinis* 6 (1933), pp. 809–817, 953–961, 1031–1048.

24. Weile be geterembure jingkini kooli.
[Ti-tsui cheng-kuei lüeh 滌罪正規略]
Verf.: Giulio Aleni.
Heft 2, Bl. 265–327. MS. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 243.1.

25. Yesu be alhôdara bithe.
[Tsun-chu sheng-fan 遵主聖範]. Der chinesische Titel bezieht sich auf die Übersetzung von Mgr Delaplace.
Verf. : Thomas von Kempen.
Ma. Ms. 5 *pen.* Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Leont'evskij 25.
Pfister, pp. 109–110; Volkova (1), 50.

26. Brevis relatio eorum, quae spectant ad declarationem Sinarum Imperatoris Kam Hi circa caeli, Confucii, et Avorum cultum, datam anno 1700. Accedunt Primatum, Doctissimorumque virorum, et antiquissimae Traditionis testimonia. Operà PP Societ. Jesu Pekini pro Evangelij propagatione laborantium.
(Peking 1701) 61 Bl. Lateinisch-chinesisch-mandjurischer Druck.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France: FM 255.
Asiatisches Museum, Sammlung Brosset XIV, 59.
P. Pelliot: "La *Brevis Relatio*," in: *T'oung Pao* 23 (1924), pp. 355–372.
Imanishi Shunjū—Yagi Yoshiko, "Ko-ki tei no tenrei mondai saiketsu joyu no kansuru ryaku hōkoku ni tsuite," in: *Tominaga sensei kakō kinen kohan shoshi ronsō.* Tenri 1962, pp. 387–408.

Die Bedeutung dieses für die Geschichte des Ritenstreites wichtigen Dokumentes ist öfter dargestellt worden. Es sei hier nur auf Pelliot ("La *Brevis Relatio*") und Simon (I.20) verwiesen.
Der Text des kaiserlichen *Placet* ist unten unter 10a wiedergegeben.

1b § 1us Acta ante Declarationem.
6a Si yang-ni tacire urse dulimba gurun-i an kooli de. / Kungze de doroloro. jai wecere juktere dorolon bisire be / donjicibe. terei turgun be ulhirakô ofi. ceni gisun. / dulimbai gurun-i / AMBA ejen-i gosin kesi eiten bade akômbume isinafi. / ENDURINGE ferguwecuke gebu be. sarkô donjihakô gurun akô. uttu / bime. ere jergi kooli bisirengge. ede urunakô turgun bi. / [...]
10a [Term.:] HESE. ere arahangge umesi sain. amba doro be acanahabi. / abka ba ginggulere. ejen niyaman be weilere. sefu unggan be / kundulerengge. ere abkai fejergi uhei kooli kai. ere uthai / inu. umai dasabure ba akô sehe: /
11a § 2us Libelli supplicis versio, in quo continetur Declaratio Rituum quorundam, et Consuetudinum Sinicarum eo sensu, quo Societas Jesu hactenus in Sinis eas permisit; oblata Imperatori Kam Hi die 30. Novembris anni 1700.
13b § 3us Consecuta post Declarationem divulgatio.
16b Chih-li li-fa yüan ch'en Min Ming-wo, Hsü Jih-sheng, An To, Chang Ch'eng teng tsou 治理曆法遠臣閔明我徐日昇安多張誠等奏. Cf. die Übersetzung Bl. 17a: [Incipit] Praeses Tribunalis Mathematicae Philippus Grimaldi, Thomas Pereyra, Antonius Thomas, Joannes Gerbillon, et caeteri Europaei, supplicaverunt.
-15a
17a Sensus Relationis hujus publicae sic habet.
18b § 4us Effectus Declarationem consequentes.
20b § 5us Testimonia Primatum, et Praecipuorum quorundam Doctorum Imperij Sinensis, de eodem sensu Rituum, et consuetudinem Sinicarum.
35a § 6us Carissima Divini Cultûs ex Traditione Monumenta.
44a De Ti Tan.
48a Alia ex populi Traditione Divinae notitiae monumenta.
61b Cui Protestationi subscribimus. Pekini Julij anni 1701.
Antonius Thomas vice Provincialis Sinensis
Philippus Grimaldi Rector Pekinensis.
Thomas Pereyra.
Joannes Franciscus Gerbillon.
Josephus Suares.
Joachimus Bouvet.
Kilianus Stumpf.
J. Baptista Regis.
Ludovicus Pernoti.
Dominicus Parrenin.
Omnes e Societate JESU sacerdotes.

27. Hung-p'iao. 1716.
Erlaß des K'ang-hsi Kaisers bezüglich der erwarteten Rückkehr seiner Gesandten an den Papst. Dieser dreisprachige Einblattdruck (Mandjurisch, Lateinisch, Chinesisch) ist vielfach behandelt worden. Vgl. die Literatur bei Walravens: "Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in mandjurischer Sprache."

References

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MANCHU CHRISTIANS AND THE SUNU FAMILY

John W. Witek

Research on Manchu Christians has been very sparse. From the 1644 take-over of Beijing until the end of the calendar controversy in 1671, no Manchu appears to have converted since the continued presence of Christianity in China was in jeopardy. In 1672, however, "a maternal uncle of the emperor, and one of the eight perpetual generals who command the Tartar militia, received baptism…".[1] This may be the earliest reference to a Manchu convert and very likely to Tong Guogang 佟國鋼 (d. 1690), although it has not yet been determined who baptised him. The Tong clan was originally Manchu and at Tong Guogang's request to the Kangxi emperor in 1688, his father's branch of the clan was transferred to the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner.[2] A signer of the Treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689, Tong was referred to as *jiujiu* 舅舅 (maternal uncle) by the Jesuits following the usage of the emperor. Commander of the artillery corps, he was killed by musket fire in a battle against Galdan (1644–1697).

Tong Guoqi 恪國器 (jr 1648; d. 1684) exemplifies a Manchu who supported Christian missionaries during his official career, but became a convert afterward.[3] A native of the city of Liaoyang 遨陽 in Manchuria, he was a member of the Tong clan that was the nucleus of the development of the Eight Chinese Banners. In 1622, his father was forced to commit suicide because of the Ming dynasty's suspicion that he had communicated with seditious relatives who were supporting the Manchus. Raised in Wuchang 吳昌. Nanjing and then Ningbo, Tong joined the Chinese Plain Blue Banner that was consolidating control over Zhejiang in 1645. From 1653 to 1660 he served successively as governor of Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang. In the last post, Tong received orders from the Shunzhi emperor that the mother of a Grand Secretary (who was to be banished to Manchuria) was also to be punished by sending her into exile from Zhejiang to Beijing. Out of compassion for the elderly woman, Tong wrote five times to the imperial court over a two-year period that she was too old and infirm to make such a trip. The court, however, ordered Tong to be arrested and brought to the capital for trial. He was released, apparently under the amnesty at the accession of the Kangxi emperor in 1661. As governor, probably due to his wife, Agatha, a Christian convert, Tong rebuilt the church in Fuzhou in 1655.[4] He did the same in Ganzhou and other places in Jiangxi; while in Hangzhou he constructed a Western style church on the site of a chapel that Yang Tingyun had built in 1627. Within this period he wrote prefaces to three books on the Catholic faith: António de Gouvea's (1592–1677) *Tianzhu shengjiao mengyin yaolan* 天主聖教蒙引要覽 (Tong's preface, Fuzhou, 1655), Manuel Dias' Jr. (1574–1659) *Tianzhu shengjiao shijie zhiquan* 天主聖教十誡直詮 (Hangzhou, 1659) and Girolamo de Gravina's (1603–1662) *Tizheng bian* 提正編 (Hangzhou, 1659). Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597–1669) charged Tong with supporting foreigners, but since Tong was then living in retirement, he was not harmed. Tong received baptism in Nanjing in 1674, that is, two years after Tong Guogang had done so.

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[1] P.J. d'Orleans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, ed. the Earl of Ellesmere, London, 1854; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971, p. 54.

[2] "T'ung Kuo-kang", *ECCP*, pp. 794–795; *Qingshigao jiaozhu* XI, *j.* 288, p. 8740.

[3] "T'ung Kuo-ch'i", *ECCP*, pp. 792–794.

Several Manchu court-officials openly supported the efforts of the missionaries, even though they did not become Christians.[5] The primary example is that of Songgotu 索額圖 (d. 1703), one of the most influential voices that led to the issuance of the 1692 Edict of Toleration. Not only did he plead with the emperor but he also strenuously endorsed the petition of the Jesuits before the Board of Rites.[6] He too was a signer of the Treaty of Nerchinsk and a friend of Tong Guogang.

The best known example of Manchus becoming Christians, however, occurred in the family of Sunu 穌努 (1648?–1725), a fourth cousin of the Yongzheng emperor.[7] The third son of Sunu, Suerjin 穌爾金 some time before 1712 happened to see a Christian tract (*Lingyan lishao* 靈言蠡勺) among the used books in a book stall in Beijing. After reading additional Christian books, he was convinced that their doctrine conformed

to that of ancient Chinese books. He and his twelve brothers held long discussions with the Jesuit Dominique Parrenin (1665–1741), during the imperial hunt in Manchuria in 1712. When the tenth son, Shuerchen 書爾陳, was sent to serve in the campaign against the Eleuths in 1719, he asked to be baptised, since he had already been leading a Christian way of life, including the days of fasting. Within a short time his wife and other family members became converts; about ten men in his military unit also joined them.[8] These aristocratic converts of the Sunu family built chapels in their palaces, because Christian noblewomen were not to attend the church where women commoners went twice a year. Two other sons of Sunu, Leshiheng 勒什哼 (baptised as Louis) and Wuerchen 烏爾陳 (baptised as Joseph), became converts despite their fall from imperial favour. Leshiheng was baptised in Xining 西寧 where he was sent into exile by the Yongzheng emperor for his failure to retrieve the funds that the emperor's brother, Yintang 胤唐 (1683–1762), reportedly had amassed during the Kangxi period. The Yongzheng emperor summoned Sunu to explain why he had lost control over his family by allowing his sons to become Christians. Sunu, who never became a Christian, his wife and other family members were sent into exile in July 1724. Fan Shouyi 樊守義 (1682–1753) was one of the few native Jesuit priests who had access to these Manchus. Several other princes and their families also became converts, despite the increasing pressure against them. In March 1727 the Emperor ordered that nine members of the family were to be executed for following a seditious religion, but this was delayed. Moreover, he insisted that the nobles were to abandon Christianity and to follow Manchu rites alone. In 1732 an imperial official, sent to inspect troops defending the area of Xining and its surroundings against the Eleuths, saw the harsh conditions imposed on these Christians, especially the Manchu princesses. The official told the Emperor that such treatment was reflecting adversely on the imperial family. Eventually the princes and their families were sent to live among the various banners of the Qing army. They did not attain their freedom until the Qianlong emperor, otherwise not prone to support Christianity, restored their names to the imperial genealogical registers.

A cousin of Sunu, Depei 德沛 (1688–1752) was baptised Joseph about 1718, but the imperial court never learned about his conversion.[9] Shortly before his death in 1735, the Yongzheng emperor appointed Depei to Left Vice Minister of the Board of War. Within a few years (1737–1743) Depei served as governor-general, first of Huguang, then of Fujian and Zhejiang, and later of Jiangnan. In these important posts Depei strove to protect the missions without revealing his Christian identity. Yet Dominican missionaries, among them the martyr Pedro Sanz, knew he was a Christian whose writings supported Christianity and Confucianism.[10] In 1742 the Jesuit astronomer Antoine Gaubil (1689–1759) also referred to him as "Joseph Tepey, prince chrétien du sang impérial".[11]

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[4] For the text of the stele see *WXXB* II, pp. 963–980.

[5] At least one exception is Henkama (Heshiheng 赫士亨 or Heishiheng 黑士亨), who was baptised as Petrus by José Soares (1656–1736) on 28 June 1707; see Claudia von Collani, "The Report of Kilian Stumpf about the Case of Father Joachim Bouvet", *ZMR* 83,3 (1999), pp. 231–251, esp. pp. 241–242, 248 n. 96.

[6] John W. Witek, "Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV", in *East Meets West* (1988), pp. 89–93.

[7] Witek (1993), pp. 265–279; Chen Yuan, pp. 306–343.

[8] Jia Kai, pp. 49–63.

[9] "Te-p'ei", *ECCP*, pp. 714–715.

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[10] *Misiones Dominicanas* I, pp. 298–299; II, pp. 118–119, 172; for his writings, see Chen Yuan, pp. 169–179.

[11] Antoine Gaubil, *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722–1759*, (Renée Simon, ed.), Geneva: Droz, 1970, p. 553.